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FORMS AND METHODS OF EARLY MORMON SETTLEMENT IN UTAH AND THE SURROUNDING REGION, 1847 TO 1877

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INTRODUCTION

The founding of Utah was unique among the Anglo-Saxon settlements in the Far West. The colonists to Oregon received a kindly reception and supplies from the Hudson's Bay Fur Company outpost, Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia, and from the Methodist Mission on the Willamette. The American pioneers to California partook of the hospitality of the Spanish ranchos, but the Mormon refugees from the Middle West found only Indians and arid lands at their trail's end. Generally the West was occupied by "successive waves" of people, as Professor Frederick Jackson Turner describes them; first the explorer and fur trader, then the pioneer, and finally the permanent settler came to the new country. In the case of Utah the second and third classes arrived at the same time. The rapid exodus from the Middle West did not permit the filling in of the intermountain region in orthodox frontier fashion. Thus to occupy the new areas these settlers had to build their bases of operation. This they did under the guidance of Brigham Young whose religious and temporal leadership made him the dominant director of colonization. These pioneers, welded together by their former adversities, developed co-operative practices essential to found colonies in arid valleys and build irrigation projects necessary to produce the food to maintain life. In such an environment they developed institutions which were somewhat different from those of the earlier Wests.

CHAPTER I

DEVELOPMENT OF MORMON INSTITUTIONS AND PRACTICES IN THE MIDDLE WEST

In the formative period of Mormonism, certain practices and institutions of importance were evolved which were vital in the colonization of the Far West. The members of this church developed a missionary system through which they reached sufficient proportions numerically for their western venture; they originated ecclesiastical divisions; they began experiments in settlement which trained them for later colonization; they evolved urban plans and built cities; they perfected an organization for emigration; they produced an effective leadership and they attained a solidarity which welded them into a united body.

In 1830, shortly after the conclusion of the first conference of the church the missionary labors began. Joseph Smith declared that his followers should carry the gospel to all parts of the world.[1] This movement had its initiation in a hope of the Mormons for the conversion of thousands of souls. These messengers went forth directly commissioned under authority of their church, serene in their faith and confident that their footsteps were guided by divine power. From 1830 to 1846 they conducted an active proselyting campaign which resulted in a growth of from six adherents in 1830 to between

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1. Joseph Smith, The Doctrine and Covenants, Section I, 4; Section VI, 6; Section LVIII, 65.

thirty-five and fifty thousand members in 1846.[2] This great increase resulted from the favorable termination of two pivotal projects, one in the United States, the other in Great Britain. To accomplish the first of these, missionaries journeyed from western New York to the Missouri River, preaching en route. The four men who formed this group were under the leadership of Parley P. Pratt, one of the most powerful advocates of the new gospel. They stopped at Kirtland, Ohio, where they met Sidney Rigdon, Mr. Pratt's former pastor, who received them cordially and invited them to present their message to his congregation. This meeting resulted in the conversion of Mr. Rigdon and one hundred and twenty-seven of his flock,[3] and within a year, because of Sidney Rigdon's efforts in the vicinity of Kirtland, one thousand accepted the message and were baptized.[4] These labors not only provided a nucleus for growth within the United States but also fur-

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2. Accurate figures are not available for Mormon population in 1846. J.B. Turner, Mormonism in All Ages, 3 states, "The Mormons boast of one hundred thousand adherents in this country." The Times and Seasons, VI (1845) p. 793 states, "The Latter Day Saints number more than 75,000 in America, and about 20,000 in Europe." That this figure in regard to Europe is too high is born out by the conference report of the British Mission which shows 10,956 members at the close of 1845, Millenial Star, VII, 4. Joseph Smith mentioned about 7,000 people in Nauvoo in 1842, Joseph Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ, IV, 356. In 1846 there were probably about twenty thousand people in and around Nauvoo. The reports of the various branches indicate that most of the Mormons in the United States had moved to Nauvoo. Orson Pratt stated in 1843 that "The present population of the city (Nauvoo) is from ten to twelve thousand" in Times and Seasons Vol. IV, p. 58 (1843).
3. Parley P. Pratt, Autobiography, 50.
4. Ibid., p. 64. W.A. Linn, Story of the Mormons, p. 131.

nished a haven for Joseph Smith and the handful of followers who were being harassed in western New York. After leaving Kirtland, these representatives went to the Missouri River where they preached to the Indians and found an opening for a new center of Mormonism in Independence, Missouri. Following this successful beginning, the number of converts increased rapidly; the Atlantic seaboard and the Southern States, as well as the Middle West proved to be regions where the new religion found many adherents. On July 20, 1837 Heber C. Kimball and six others landed in Liverpool, where they established the headquarters of the British Mission.[5] July 22, 1837 Joseph Fielding and his companions were sent to Preston where the first successful foreign proselyting efforts began. The Reverend Mr. James Fielding, the pastor of Preston and the brother of Joseph Fielding welcomed the newcomers and requested the congregation to give them a respectful hearing.[6] With this friendly opening, the missionaries converted a large portion of the members of his parish. From this beginning in July 1837, the labors in Great Britain spread from Preston to the surrounding cities and towns and then to the other parts of the British Isles so that within nine years there were more than eleven thousand members in the British Mission.[7]

With the growth of the church, the leaders foresaw the necessity of subdividing the whole into smaller units for the

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5. Joseph Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, IV, 314.
6. Millenial Star, I, 290-291.
7. Ibid., VII, 4.

purpose of adequately supervising the members. The first and largest division was the stake. Regarding it Joseph Smith said: "There will be here and there a stake for the gathering of the Saints."[8] Though it was probably intended that this unit should be the only subdivision, the massing of population in these centers required further separation. Thus by the time Nauvoo was founded, the stake was "a territorial division of the church comprising several ecclesiastical wards."[9] Kirtland, Ohio,[10] Independence, Missouri, and Nauvoo in Illinois were such units.[11] Since Nauvoo was too large to be successfully administered, it was divided first into four and in 1845 into ten sections called wards.[12] In communities apart from the main body of the church where the groups were too few in number to form wards, "branches" were founded. Though these varied in population, after the Mormons were called to Nauvoo by their leader, the "branches" in Michigan and the surrounding territory numbered often as few as twenty members.

Besides forming these divisions which were used later, the Latter Day Saints became adept as colonizers because of the experiences which they had in building their towns and cities in the Middle West. The first experiment was Kirtland, Ohio. Here in 1831, the leader moved and purchased land,[13]

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8. Joseph Smith, History of the Church etc., III, 390.
9. B.H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Century One, I, 310.
10. Joseph Smith, History of the Church etc., I, 335. Joseph Smith, Doctrine and Covenants C 1, 21. W.A. Linn, Story of the Mormons, p. 144.
11. Joseph Smith, History of the Church etc., IV, 233.
12. William Clayton, Journal, 1840-1846, 89-90. MS.
13. E.D. Howe, Mormonism Unveiled, 26. Harvey Rice, Pioneers of the Western Reserve, pp. 312-313.

and began settlement. The proximity of neighbors made the formation of a formidable colony under favorable circumstances impossible. Many Mormons did live there however, raising crops, building houses, manufacturing goods and erecting a temple.[14] This was the first Mormon experiment in colonization and it was not abandoned until the death of Joseph Smith. It was the "seed bed" of later Mormon colonial projects. Western Missouri was the scene of the next enterprise. There in Independence, Joseph Smith hoped to build his "city of Zion" in 1831[15] and around it, to form rural settlements. For several years his followers built homes, purchased farms and formed villages. Though the "holy city" was not built as planned, the Mormons constructed several rural towns. The extent of the development of these Mormon communities is shown in the following description:

> "The town of Far West was laid out one mile square, and most of the lots sold; and in one year from the first settlement in Caldwell, there were from one hundred to one hundred-fifty dwelling houses erected in that place, six dry goods stores in operation, one grocery and several machine shops. There were in the county, nearly or quite three hundred farms opened and several thousand acres under cultivation also, four saw and five grist mills doing good business."[16]

At Nauvoo, Illinois, with the knowledge gained in their former experiments, there was a flowering of Mormon colonial efforts. In 1839, the refugees from Missouri began the forma-

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14. J.H. Evans, One Hundred Years of Mormonism, p. 203.
15. Joseph Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, LVII, 2-3.
16. "A History of the Prosecution of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in Missouri," Times and Seasons, I, 66 (1840).

tion of new towns. Land was purchased to build another city,[17] and large tracts of land were acquired for agricultural settlements.[18] Here they prospered for seven years, farming and manufacturing.

Nauvoo itself was the culmination of Joseph Smith's efforts in city planning. Prior to the formation of this town, he sent to Missouri the plot of the city to be built at Independence which was to be the model for all others. He proposed a city plot one mile square with blocks of ten acres each, each block containing half acre lots. The houses were to be built of brick and stone. There was to be but one house to a lot and each residence was to be twenty-five feet from the street, the approaches to the houses were to be flanked with shrubbery, flowers and lawns. On the central squares, the religious and civil structures were to be erected. The streets were to be eight rods wide and intersect each other at right angles.[19] Since the Mormons were driven from Missouri it was impossible for them to carry out this plan in Independence. In Illinois, however, on the banks of the Mississippi they founded their ideal city. An English emigrant in 1843 described it as follows:

"From rising ground in Nauvoo we have a splendid sight of the country on the other side of the river, which is very pleasant. The extent of the city is four miles, laid out in lots and streets in nice order; I mean that each house has a

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17. Joseph Smith, History of the Church etc., III, 342; IV, 8.
18. Ibid., III, 382.
19. Times and Seasons, VI, 786.

piece of land attached to it, either a quarter, half, or whole acre of land, and some more, which makes the houses appear scattered. For two miles square the city is covered in that way, but in the center, near the temple they are quite close like other towns. .... Two or three places in the city have a very business-like appearance with having different kinds of shops. We have many good brick houses, and others are frame, wood and log houses. Some of the houses appear strange to a person who has been accustomed to live in a fine-built place, but a great many are quite smart large brick houses, which would look well in any city. I was quite surprised to find as many good brick built houses. Brick houses, stone, and others, are building as fast as they can."[20]

In the three years after this writer saw the "City Beautiful" the residences were much improved and there was decided industrial activity.[21] In the seven years which marked the history of this settlement, it passed from the cruder frontier stages of a scattered town to a well planned orderly city which was the fruition of Mormon colonial enterprise during this period.

The Middle West was the "proving ground" where Mormon leaders were developed. Joseph Smith evolved the position of the president to a height where that officer became a dominant figure in the Latter Day Saints' religion. He was a prophet of God to his people and, because they believed he received divine guidance, they accepted his proposals almost unanimously. Only by possessing the unbounded confidence of his followers was he able three times to direct unsuccessful attempts at colonization and each time retain the esteem of his flock. He

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20. "Letter James Needham, Nauvoo July 7, 1843 to Mr. Thomas Ward, Church Place England," Millenial Star, IV, 87-88 (October 1843). Times and Seasons, III, 936-937; Henry Brown, History of Illinois, 490-491; Henry Caswell, The City of the Mormons, 8; Charles Mackay, The Mormons, 118-120, all give similar descriptions to the one quoted above.
21. Thomas L. Kane, The Mormons, p. 4.

raised the office of the President of the Church to such a high pinnacle that a successor with a dominating personality might become virtually a dictator. Two counselors were associated with him in the executive power. Next in authority to these three was the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles presided over by one of their number, a president. As a council to the head of the church and as agents who ratified and executed his plans the Twelve were trained first as lieutenants to the leader and later as potential successors. By virtue of his position as President of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, Brigham Young was able to succeed the "Prophet" as leader of the Mormon Movement.[22] In the eleven years from the time of his conversion to the death of Joseph Smith in 1844, Brigham Young gained the experiences which aided him materially in becoming a successful leader. His missionary labors in the United States and Great Britain gave him a knowledge of the men he was to lead and provided him with first hand information concerning the direction of that most powerful agency for adding converts to his cause; his direction of the evacuation of Missouri trained him to supervise further migrations and his close association with Joseph Smith assisted him in understanding the city plans and settlements of the Middle West - a knowledge which aided him in the colonial enterprises in the intermountain country. Thus helped, when the leadership was vested in

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22. Millenial Star, IX, 27; X, 114; Wilford Woodruff, Journal, MS, August 8, 1844.

him at the death of the "Prophet," he was able unhesitatingly to carry out the projects of Joseph Smith, the greatest of which was to build cities of refuge for Mormonism in the "heart of the Rockies."

Next in importance to the Twelve were the stake presidencies. A president and two counselors formed this executive body which presided over each stake. They were ecclesiastical administrative officers who guided the religious life of the people in that region. The high council of the stake, consisting of twelve members, were advisors to the presidency and assisted in the administrative and judicial affairs of that territory. The bishop was first chosen to direct the material affairs of the stake. Later in Nauvoo, when that city was divided into wards, his authority was limited to that division over which he presided as leader in affairs of a religious as well as of a worldly nature. All these officers were important in the development of Mormonism since the material and religious life were usually one. They became the religious, political and economic leaders of their people. Joseph Smith was elected mayor of Nauvoo just as Brigham Young was at a later time appointed governor of Utah. Both these men and their advisors became directors of economic enterprises which they founded.

The conflict between the Mormon people and their neighbors in the Middle West bound the Latter Day Saints together and produced a united people. Those members who were not thoroughly converted left the movement during the period of

friction; those who were believers in the divine guidance of their leader and in the soundness of his principles were more firmly rooted in the faith, believing themselves to be persecuted as were Christ and his disciples.[23] In this adversity, they were brought close together. They formed friendships with each other instead of with their non-Mormon neighbors. Furthermore they believed that they were chosen children of the Father building up a "Kingdom of Heaven" and they regarded each other as "heirs to the Kingdom of God." In this way they came to look upon one another as better people than those who were not of their faith. The period of colonization in the Middle West was thus a sifting process where those who were not enthusiastically and earnestly members of this church were eliminated and those who remained were completely and confidently attached to the new movement.[24] Moreover they gave their

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23. J.W. Gunnison, The Mormons, p. 75. "The violence in Missouri gave a new impetus to Mormonism. The people were concentrated thereby, an unanimity of views and opinions again prevailed. The dissenters were driven away--the weak in the faith were made strong under the harangues of teachers who loudly proclaimed that 'so Christ and his Apostles were made to suffer.'"
24. George A. Smith, one of their leaders, said: "After the Latter Day Saints had been sifted five or six times .... driven from Kirtland Ohio by persecution, driven from Jackson and Clay Counties, Missouri, expelled from the state of Missouri, from Illinois and eastern Iowa, deprived of all their property in these several drivings, they had become to a considerable extent sifted, so that those who came here (Utah) were generally zealous and faithful in their hearts to the glorious cause in which they had enlisted." "Speech George A. Smith, Salt Lake Tabernacle, July 25, 1870," Millenial Star, XXXII, 594.

property freely to the leaders of the church for the aid of their less fortunate fellow religionists. Because they fought for their beliefs, because they suffered for their religion, and because they believed that they were followers of a true prophet who would lead them to the glories of eternal life, they were willing to offer their lives and their fortunes for the formation of cities where they might live and worship according to their own desires. They were so firmly welded together by the time of the death of Joseph Smith that instead of their movement being destroyed they were willing and experienced enough to go out on the frontier and build another Mormon kingdom after three failures in the Middle West.[25]

Because of their migrations from Kirtland, from Missouri, and from Nauvoo, these settlers were prepared to follow in detail the instructions given by Brigham Young concerning their long journey from the Middle West to the Rocky Mountains. As they gathered on the banks of the Missouri River in 1846, their leader announced the following plan as a revelation from God:

"1. The word and will of the Lord concerning the camp of Israel in their journeyings to the West.

2. Let all the people of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, and those who journey with them, be organized into companies, with a covenant and a promise to keep all the commandments and statutes of the Lord our God.

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25. Governor Thomas Ford, in his History of Illinois, p. 357, wrote: "The murder of the Smiths, instead of putting an end to the delusion of the Mormons and dispersing them, as many believed it would, only bound them together closer than ever, gave them a new confidence in their faith."

3. Let the companies be organized with captains of hundreds, captains of fifties, captains of tens, with a president and his two counselors at their head, under the direction of the Twelve Apostles;

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5. Let each company provide themselves with all the teams, wagons, provisions, clothing and other necessaries for the journey that they can.

6. When the companies are organized, let them go with all their might to prepare for those who are to tarry.

7. Let each company with their captains and presidents decide how many can go next spring; then choose out a sufficient number of able bodied and expert men, to take teams, seeds, and farming utensils, to go as pioneers to prepare for putting in spring crops.

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10. Let every man use all his influence and property to remove this people to the place where the Lord shall locate a Stake of Zion.

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12. Let my servants Ezra T. Benson and Erastus Snow organize a company; ....

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15. And (the men named above) appoint presidents, captains of hundreds, and of fifties and of tens,

16. And let my servants that have been appointed go and teach this my will to the Saints, that they may be ready to go to a land of peace."[26]

Under this type of organization thousands of Mormons were formed into companies for the final exodus from western Iowa to the unknown homes somewhere in the Rockies or California. In addition to this plan, these pioneers were carefully

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26. Joseph Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, Appendix, pp. 488-490.

instructed to take the proper provisions and equipment.[27] They were taught the rules which would protect them from the Indians and aid them in rapid and easy journeys to the western valleys.[28]

With these experiences gained in the sixteen year period in the Middle West these seasoned pioneers, now forced by their neighbors to leave Nauvoo turned westward to accomplish the difficult task of building another Kingdom in the distant Rockies. Because they were welded firmly together by adversity, because they had confidence in their leader who had proved his worth in days of trouble and because they sought to live together in a region where they could worship as they pleased, they followed the trails which led to the distant "promised land" to form colonies where by united efforts they could build churches, erect houses, and produce the necessities which would be needed by these pioneers. In the years that followed 1846 the distant trails were dotted with the ox teams which carried the meagre worldly possessions of the refugees westward and at night bivouacked in corrals formed by their wagons and guarded by alert pickets these people gathered around camp fires and sang songs to encourage them for the performance of the dreary job of making homes in the distant wilderness.

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27. Frontier Guardian, Feb. 21, 1849; May 13, 1849; June 25, 1850.
28. Howard Egan, Pioneering the West, pp. 23-24; Captain Warren Foote, "Autobiography," J.A. Little, From Kirtland to Great Salt Lake City, pp. 240-241; William Clayton, Journal, pp. 74-75.

CHAPTER II

THE SETTLEMENT OF SALT LAKE CITY

After reaching the arid and isolated valley of the Great Salt Lake, the pioneers began at once to form their first Far Western settlement in 1847. They used the experiences which they acquired in the Middle West to found their new colony but some modifications were necessary due to the differences in environment. First they planted their crops and erected their fort. Afterwards, when the Indians were no longer a menace they built their town and laid out their farms and with united effort developed irrigation. By hard labor they produced a surplus which they sold to the California gold seekers and with the wealth thus gained they transformed their farming town into an industrial settlement. Finally these pioneers made Salt Lake City the religious, political, and economic center of their "Kingdom" in the West.

Great Salt Lake Valley, the haven of the pioneers in 1847, was one of the high and dry prairies of the Great Basin. It was "some twenty by thirty miles in extent"[1] and was surrounded on three sides by mountains and on the fourth by the Great Salt Lake. This expanse of country was a portion of the floor of an ancient body of fresh water, called Lake Bonneville. North and south through this valley the Jordan River meandered emptying into Great Salt Lake. From the mountain canyons,

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1. "General Epistle of the Council of the Twelve," Millenial Star, X, (1848), 82.

streams of water rushed down to the plains below, finally finding their way to the Jordan, but first forming swamps in the bottom lands where grass flourished, while elsewhere the valley was dry due to lack of moisture,[2] as the rainfall was only seventeen inches a year.[3] The soil varied, in type, from the gravel foothills to the valley clay.[4] Few trees were visible on the plain but back some distance in the mountains many grew forming a watershed which prevented the snow from all melting till later in the season. From April until October very little rain fell, thus these streams from the hills formed a valuable natural resource for the settlers.

The spirits of the pioneers were high as they entered this silent valley;[5] they visualized houses built by their own labor on the barren prairie before them. The mountain streams suggested to them power for future mills[6] and the rocky mountains offered "an ocean of stone, ... to build stone houses and walls."[7] All that was now needed according to these optimistic settlers was a "bed of coal."[8] The vanguard of the pioneers entered the valley July 23, 1847 and late that same day, on the banks of a stream which they subsequently called City Creek, they selected the land for their first crops and

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2. Orson Pratt, "Journal," July 22, 1848, Millenial Star, XII, (1850), 178.
3. M.E. Jones, Utah, p. 66.
4. Ibid., p. 68.
5. Thomas Bullock, Camp Journal, No. 2, MS, pp. 38-39. William Clayton, Journal, pp. 308-310.
6. Orson Pratt, "Journal," July 22, 1848, Millenial Star, XII, 178.
7. Thomas Bullock, Camp Journal No. 2, MS, pp. 38-39.
8. Ibid., pp. 38-39.

in Pilgrim fashion these travelers prayed to God, dedicating themselves and the land to Him and imploring His blessings upon their labors and upon the seeds to be planted.[9] Having done this, through united efforts they began the planting of crops and the construction of the first irrigation ditch.[10] This scene, with its prayerful beginning, the planting and the co-operative irrigation, was typical of early Mormon economic enterprise.

When the main body of pioneers arrived on July 24, 1847, they began the preparation of a temporary settlement. There were only 147 of them and they were in an Indian country, out on the western frontier. Consequently it was necessary to build shelters that would protect them from the Indians as well as from the inclement weather. Since it was decided by the camp to remain in the valley[11] Brigham Young proposed that the small company construct their houses in the form of a fort. This proposal was accepted by the pioneers[12] and since there was a lack of timber and, as Samuel Brannan had told them about the method of building adobe houses in California, "they voted to put up a stockade of adobie houses."[13] August 11 the construction of the gray wall of the fort began[14] and by December, 1847 that work was completed. John Smith, who arrived with a

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9. Orson Pratt, "Journal," July 23, 1847, Millenial Star, XII, 178-179.
10. Thomas Bullock, Camp Journal No. 2, MS, pp. 38-39.
11. Howard Egan, Pioneering the West, p. 111.
12. William Clayton, Journal, p. 337.
13. Ibid., p. 337.
14. Howard Egan, Pioneering the West, p. 120.

company of pioneers in September described the fort as follows:

"Our buildings at present for reasons of advantage, are in the quadrangular form common in western posts, the outside lines 190 rods by 40 rods wide, with three cross walls at convenient distances, this Fort, as we call it contains not far from 600 houses, built of logs and sun dried brick."[15]

Outside the stockade a field was enclosed for the planting of crops until the time when the land should be divided among the people, and here within a year, they raised some ten thousand bushels of wheat. During the first winter, there was much difficulty experienced in repairing the hastily constructed houses. Some rude furniture was made to aid the settlers in overcoming the severity of the west. In outward appearances, these pioneers lived about the same kind of life experienced by the Pilgrims their first year at Plymouth or by many another united group on a western frontier. They prayed, they built houses, they planted crops. Beyond that, however, they hoarded their meagre supplies to feed those who were coming later and furthermore as they were looking towards expansion they explored the country to the north and south in search of lands for the benefit of the newcomers. From the day the vanguard planted the first seeds on July 23, 1847 until the arrival of the "great migration" the following year, these pioneers worked cooperatively to pave the way for further Mormon colonization.

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15. John Smith, Letter to the Board of Management of Hudson's Bay Company, Great Salt Lake City, Dec. 7, 1847.

It was upon these rude beginnings that a large western city and numerous settlements were to be built.

With the coming of the immigrants of 1848, the settlers in Salt Lake Valley were strong enough in numbers to leave the fort and build a city. Even before the stockade was erected Brigham Young, on July 26, 1847, accompanied the Apostles to the proposed site of the new city and suggested his plans. Wilford Woodruff, who was there, described the scene as follows:

> "We walked from the north camp to about the center between the two creeks (subsequently called the forks of City Creek), when President Young waved his hand and said, 'Here is 40 acres for the Temple. The city can be laid out perfectly square, north and south, east and west.' It was then moved and seconded that the Temple lot contain forty acres (subsequently changed to ten) on the ground where we stood. It was also moved and carried that the city be laid out into lots of ten rods by 20 each, exclusive of streets, and into blocks of eight lots, being ten acres in each block and one and a quarter in each lot. It was further moved and carried that each street be laid out eight rods wide, and there be a sidewalk on each side twenty feet wide, and that each house be built in the center of the lot twenty feet from the front, ... It was also moved that four public squares of ten acres each to be laid out in various parts of the city for public grounds."[16]

These proposals were ratified the evening of July 28, 1847 by the whole camp.[17] This city plan of Great Salt Lake City bore a striking resemblance to the ideal plot of Independence, Missouri as it was drawn by Joseph Smith.[18] The ten acre blocks, the straight streets eight rods wide and the houses back in the lots were identical in the plans for both cities.

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16. Wilford Woodruff, Journal, MS, July 28, 1847.
17. Brigham Young, Journal, MS, July 28, 1847.
18. See Chapter I, p. 7.

August 2, 1847 the survey of the new town began. The lots nearest the Temple were immediately selected by the First Presidency and the members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles[19] but those remaining were not given to the settlers until a year later,[20] shortly before the pioneers abandoned their fort[21] to move to their prospective acres.

In the fall of 1848, the building of the new city began. The fort was broken up and the log buildings were moved to the land sites and the adobes were taken to construct houses. These new residences were not imposing. A California traveler in 1849 described them as follows:

> "The houses are small principally of brick (sundried) built up only as temporary abodes until the more urgent and important matters of enclosure and cultivation are attended to; but I never saw anything surpass the ingenuity of the arrangement with which they are fitted up, and the scrupulous cleanliness with which they are kept."[22]

These houses were built upon lots which were an acre and quarter in size so that the city extended several miles in length and width and travelers compared its area to that of New York City,[23] but actually it was a "gigantic village"[24] which was agricultural in this stage. These plots were in a

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19. Brigham Young, Journal, MS, August 7, 1847.
    Wilford Woodruff, Journal, MS, August 7, 1847.
20. Brigham Young, Journal, MS, September 24, 1848.
    Parley P. Pratt, Autobiography, p. 406.
21. Brigham Young, Journal, MS, September 24, 1848.
22. William Kelly, Across the Rocky Mountains, p. 161.
23. "The Mormon Valley Near Great Salt Lake," From New York Tribune, Oct. 9, 1849, reprinted in Millenial Star, XI, 338.
24. Ibid.

high state of cultivation providing the garden truck and grain[25] necessary for foodstuffs. In this rural town, the early industry was very much subordinated to agriculture. The first crude manufacturing in addition to spinning and weaving in the houses, consisted in the production of flour and lumber. In March 1848 a small grist mill and a sawmill were put in operation[26] to meet the most urgent needs of the settlers. Within the first few years these mills were increased in size and number.[27] Also there were tradesmen and artisans to do the industrial work necessary but there were "no regular stores or workshops except forges."[28]

In 1848 a large tract of land was surveyed south of the city proper for farming purposes.[29] This new field was divided into five, ten, twenty, forty and eighty acre strips which were apportioned to the settlers by lot.[30] The five acre plots, which were the choice ones, were given to the mechanics and laborers[31] who lived in the city and worked at their trades. The remaining land was given to the farmers who lived on their farms. The year 1848 marks the beginning of private property in land since at that time the city lots and farm plots in the valley were given to the settlers.

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25. Chandless, A Visit to Great Salt Lake, p. 154.
26. Letter High Council of Salt Lake City to Brigham Young, Great Salt Lake City, March 4, 1848.
27. "Letter G.A. Smith and E.T. Benson G.S.L.C. to O. Pratt and F.D. Richards, Sept. 29, 1850," Millenial Star, XIII, 23.
28. William Kelly, Across the Rocky Mountains, p. 161.
29. Brigham Young, Journal, MS, Oct. 9, 1848.
30. Ibid., April 9, 1848.
31. Ibid., Oct. 9, 1848.

Agriculture was of supreme importance from the beginning since these people were obliged to produce what they consumed or starve, for the distance from the eastern and western sources and lack of capital in the Salt Lake settlement made the importation of any large supplies of provisions impossible. Even the mechanics and laborers raised the foodstuffs which their families consumed. Through these united efforts the settlers were able not only to produce that which was necessary for their needs but also to supply enough to feed the impoverished emigrants who came to Salt Lake City to live. The exception to this was in 1849 when the grasshoppers harvested the crops in the valley.

Since agriculture could be developed only through the use of water the construction of irrigation canals and ditches was essential. As there was little capital to have this work done, the united labor of the settlers was necessary. They were accustomed to cooperation due to their unity of effort previously in the Middle West.[32] By the combined effort of the entire community irrigation developed. In 1849 it was decided by vote to bring the waters of Big and Little Cottonwood Creeks through canals to irrigate the farms.[33] These pioneers worked jointly to build irrigation canals to bring the water to the outskirts of the farms; but each farmer constructed his own ditches to carry the water to his fields.

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32. See Chapter I, pp. 10-12.
33. Brigham Young, Journal, MS, Oct. 28, 1849.

Annually each man toiled for a specified number of days upon the canals to keep them in proper repair. His labor entitled him to the use of a portion of the stream for a certain length of time once a week. Without irrigation there could have been no agriculture and without agriculture there could have been no Salt Lake City.

By 1850 after accomplishing the task of bringing the mountain waters to the arid lands, the 6157 settlers[34] harvested 58,492 bushels of wheat, 5220 bushels of corn, 4906 bushels of oats and 25,859 bushels of potatoes.[35] They possessed 1304 horses and mules and 5552 cows, oxen and other cattle.[36] As Salt Lake City grew in population the regions outside of the city proper within the valley and county were used for agricultural purposes.

The territory in which the Mormons dwelt in 1847 belonged to Mexico and that nation was at war with the United States. It was necessary, therefore, to form at least a temporary government for the region. For four years until federal authority was extended to Utah the settlers provided their own administration for the valley. In August 1847, the pioneers were assembled and Brigham Young suggested, that since he was returning to Winter Quarters to direct the emigration, John Smith be President of the Valley and that he have a High Council of twelve members for advisory purposes.[37] The proposal

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34. United States Census 1850, p. 993.
35. Ibid., pp. 1007-1008.
36. Ibid., p. 1006.
37. Howard Egan, Pioneering the West, p. 127.

was accepted and this group acted during the absence of Brigham Young. This body was similar to the Stake organization used in the Middle West[38] with political authority added. In 1849 the city was divided into "nineteen wards of nine blocks each."[39] A bishop was chosen by the President of the Stake and ratified by the people to preside over each ward. In addition to his religious duties he acted as a judge in his portion of the city.[40] He settled marital difficulties, he decided disputes over irrigation and sometimes he gave his decision in cases between members of his ward and non Mormons passing tnrough the city, whose cattle broke into the fields of the settlers. The people had full confidence in their officers and supported them. In these first years this settlement was a religious commonwealth. The new city was founedd by an ecclesiastical organization and the people who lived within its confines were almost entirely of one faith. Furthermore, they were squatters living in a region which had not been organized into a federal territory. Hence it was a perfectly natural procedure for them to utilize their church officials to enforce the necessary civil law needed by this infant settlement. Captain Stansbury, who was conducting a survey of Great Salt Lake in 1849, observed that "this intimate connection of church and state seems to pervade everything that is done."[41]

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38. See Chapter I, p. 9 .
39. Brigham Young, Journal, MS, 1849, p. 17.
40. Howard Stansbury, Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake, p. 131.
41. Ibid., p. 131.

Passing events made necessary a change from this temporary religious government. The journey of gold seekers through Salt Lake on their way to California brought some trespassing of cattle in the fields of the Utah colonizers and the necessity of settling some of these cases in court presented a need for the separation of political from religious authority. Moreover the victory of the United States over Mexico resulted in the cession of this territory to the United States.

Thus in January 1849 to prepare the way for the establishment of civil government, the high council was relieved of municipal duties.[42] In March 1849 a constitutional convention framed a document[43] which, after ratification by the people became the constitution of the State of Deseret. Though this state was not admitted into the Union, the temporary provisional government provided by the Constitution lasted until the territory of Utah was created by the Compromise of 1850. One of the early acts of this new State government was to pass an ordinance to incorporate Great Salt Lake City. This measure provided for a "City Council to consist of a Mayor, four Aldermen, and nine Councilors."[44] In addition to the executive and legislative functions of these officers they were to act as justices of the peace, and as a body to form a municipal court

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42. Journal History, 1849, January 6, 1849, p. 1.
43. Acts, Resolutions and Memorials, Passed at the Several Annual Sessions of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, pp. 44-56.
44. Ibid., p. 65.

for appeals from their decision as justices.[45] In this way the civil and religious functions were separated. At a later time, however, these high church officials and many of the bishops became justices of the peace.[46] This civil, as distinct from religious government, was in operation from 1851, and under it the rapid evolution of Great Salt Lake City into a center of industry and commerce took place.

The growth of this settlement from a town that was dominantly agricultural to a city with industries was aided materially by several factors. The migration of converts to Salt Lake, which resulted from the missionary activity in England, brought a group of skilled laborers in industry. Even in 1849 when the manufacturing was developed in the houses of these artisans, a California gold seeker said that "from the tireing of a wagon to the mending of a watch, there is no difficulty experienced in getting it done as cheaply and as well put out of hand as in any other city in America."[47] Furthermore Brigham Young led the way with his definite suggestions and his personal activity in respect to industry. He frequently urged the people of Salt Lake City to engage in manufacturing.[48] He also used the resources of the church for the development of industry.[49] Moreover this leader built

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45. Ibid., p. 70.
46. H. Stansbury, Exploration and Survey of the Great Salt Lake, p. 131.
47. W. Kelly, Across the Rocky Mountains, p. 161.
48. "Ninth General Epistle of the Presidency, April 13, 1853," Millenial Star, X, 437.
49. Brigham Young in 1855 wrote, "We wish to accumulate sufficient during the present year of the Tithing Funds to bring out the woolen factory in St. Louis next emigration. .... We must begin more effectively to manufacture our own clothing." "Letter B. Young, July 30, 1855 to Franklin D. Richards," Millenial Star, XVII, 666.

factories himself to aid the building up of manufacturing. By virtue of the strong position which he held he was able effectively to stimulate industrial activity. The unity which had developed from the earliest days of Mormonism among its members aided them in the erection of the buildings necessary for manufacturing and also united them in purchasing home produced articles to benefit the infant industries in their beginnings. In addition the distance of this new settlement from the Missouri River points and from the Pacific made the freight upon the needed commodities excessively high and the menace of the Indians to the freighters added to the difficulty of procuring the necessary manufactured goods. Furthermore the settlers of Salt Lake Valley had little capital to purchase these products. Thus the situation in Utah provided a rich field for the development of manufacturing.

Fortunately the geographical position which the settlers occupied furnished them the opportunity of securing the one thing that was necessary - capital. After 1848 when the announcement of the discovery of gold in California brought large groups of argonauts across the plains and mountains, the people of Salt Lake Valley found a ready market for their surplus in agriculture and gained the wealth required to accelerate manufacturing. Salt Lake City was situated on the great overland trail. It was the only point en route large enough to satisfy the needs of the gold seekers. The settlers entered into a trade with them that was lucrative and important in facilitating the growth of Salt Lake City from an agricultural

town to a manufacturing center in the Far West. Since California travelers reached Salt Lake on jaded horses or with heavy wagons, fresh mounts or new and lighter conveyances were needed for the journey over the more mountainous road to California. The settlers traded their horses and mules to the coast bound immigrants for eight times the normal selling price and frequently received in exchange blooded stock[50] which improved the breeds in the valley. The pioneers bartered for great profit their lighter wagons for the heavier ones of the immigrants. The prices of goods sold by the California travelers in Utah were actually lower than those in the East, cloth ten cents a yard, spades and shovels fifty cents each, sugar and coffee fifty percent below the eastern wholesale prices and joiner's tools one-sixth of their value.[51] Some of the merchants who brought manufactured goods intending to sell them in the mining camps of California, hearing that other traders had arrived there by ship before them, sold their goods in Salt Lake often below cost. Dry goods, groceries, provisions, clothing, implements were thus cheaply acquired by the people in Utah. Rifles, fine clothing, pairs of boots and feather beds could be purchased from the gold seekers for five dollars each.[52] Even machinery was obtained at low cost from the travelers.[53]

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50. O.F. Whitney, History of Utah, I, 401.
51. Frontier Guardian, I, no. 16, p. 2, Sept. 5, 1849.
52. "Letter R.W." (name not given) Alta California, Sept. 6, 1850.
53. J.A. Little, From Kirtland to Salt Lake City, p. 202.

Not only did the gold rush furnish the opportunity of buying commodities at a low price but also gave a chance to sell their surplus crops at a high rate. The St. Louis Republican reported in 1849 that "the Mormons raised fine crops this past season--an abundance of wheat and other grains, potatoes, turnips etc., more than they could consume; but the influx of emigrants was furnishing a ready market for all their surplus, at high prices. Money was a plenty in the Basin."[54] The price of flour rose from twelve dollars a hundred in 1849[55] to twenty-five dollars in 1850.[56] By 1854 prices had dropped to a more normal level, wheat selling from $1.25 to $2.00 a bushel.[57] As the editor of the Frontier Guardian, a Mormon newspaper in Winter Quarters, commented in referring to the trade with the gold seekers, "this kind of operation has put the people on their legs in the valley."[58] The wealth that poured into Salt Lake City as a result of the trade with those who sought gold in California gave a great impetus to the development of manufacturing. Without this capital the growth of industry in Salt Lake City must have necessarily been very slow despite the efforts of the leader and the solidarity of the people. The coming of Steptoe's command of soldiers in 1854 and Johnston's army in 1858 also provided a ready market

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54. "St. Louis Republican Dec. 4, 1849," Millenial Star, XII, 29.
55. Frontier Guardian, I, no. 26, p. 4, Jan. 23, 1850.
56. "Letter Brigham Young to Orson Hyde, Great Salt Lake City July 28, 1850," Frontier Guardian, II no. 17, p. 1, Sept. 14, 1850.
57. "Letter Heber C. Kimball Great Salt Lake City, Dec. 21, 1854 to his son William," Millenial Star, XVII, 251.
58. Frontier Guardian, I, no. 12, p. 2.

for the surplus produce and materially accelerated the industrial development of Salt Lake City. The trade described above greatly aided the leaders and the people in molding this Far Western outpost of 1847 into a community which was as large and as prosperous as were other cities in their early development on the American frontier.

It was not until 1853 that, through the influence of the commerce with the California immigrants, industry developed materially. Before that time manufacturing was in its simpler stages. Sawmills, grist mills and spinning and weaving and making of furniture represented the main manufacturing activities of the colonists. An overland traveler in 1849 describing the industry of Salt Lake City that year wrote as follows:

"There was an abundance of mechanic shops, of dressmakers, milliners, and tailors, etc.; but they needed no sign nor had they time to paint or erect one for they were crowded with business. Besides their several trades, all must cultivate the land, or die."[59] These economic operations were for the most part conducted in the houses of the Mormons and the people were indulging in a crude way in the simpler forms of the type of home manufacturing for which they had been trained in the British Isles. In 1852 the formation of the Deseret Pottery and the successful operation of a carding machine gave evidence that the young settlement was passing out of the first

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59. "New York Tribune correspondent, New York Tribune, Oct. 9, 1849," Millenial Star, XI, 339.

crude stages of frontier manufacturing.[60] That same year a small woolen factory was erected[61] to produce the cloth for the needs of the people during the severe winters. Mormon leaders spent church funds during these early times for rent on stores, blacksmith shops, paint shops, and a paper factory.[62] These establishments, under their control, were for the purpose of meeting the needs of the people, preparing building materials and making paper for the Deseret News, which was first published in 1850. This activity was inadequate to meet the requirements of the people, therefore in 1853 Brigham Young and his councilors, sending their message to the members of their church, wrote:

> "Domestic manufactures are improving but not so fast as is desirable. Saw and grain mills have increased rapidly in the various settlements but they cannot keep pace with the demand for flour and especially for lumber. The tanneries are gradually improving, and considerable leather has been produced. Our nail factories progress slowly. A manufactory of combs has commenced. .... Manufacturers of all kinds are wanted more extensively and labor saving machinery, particularly for the husbandman, so that the farmers can raise the grain and every mechanic work at his own trade."[63]

By 1854 manufacturing had grown considerably. That year Mr. Piercy, an Englishman in Salt Lake lists, among the industrial agencies in this Far Western city, shoemaking, tailoring, blacksmithing, tanneries, brush, comb, woolen, hat and cap

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60. "Sixth General Epistle of the Presidency of the Church," Millenial Star, XIV, 18, (1852).
61. "Seventh General Epistle of the Presidency of the Church," April 18, 1852, Millenial Star, XIV, 321.
62. Ibid., p. 323.
63. "Ninth General Epistle of the Presidency," April 13, 1853, Millenial Star, XV, p. 437.

manufactories, cooperages, cabinet and wood turners' shops, chair makers, watch makers, jewelers, a paper factory, a pottery and saddlery, a large machine and work shop on the Temple Square turning out castings, a blacksmith shop with seven fires, a paint shop, a machine shop "in which flanges, wheels, cranks, gudgeons, and machinery are manufactured."[64] In 1855 a sugar factory, three stories in height, 103 feet long and 40 feet wide turned 220,000 bushels of beets into barrels of molasses[65] which were greatly needed on account of the lack of sugar.

From 1850 to 1869 the industrial growth was rapid. In 1856 Salt Lake County (mainly Salt Lake City) had $34,000 invested in manufacturing, 17 persons employed and an annual industrial output of $257,520[66] while in 1860 there were 88 manufacturing establishments with a capital invested of $312,926 paying $179,381 for labor and the annual industrial output was $698,308.[67] At this later date it must also be remembered the close of the California gold rush brought a reduction in the price of manufactured goods.

The growth of population in Salt Lake City was steady but not phenomenal as the emigrants were quickly sent to the other valleys to erect settlements. In the winter of 1847

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64. James Linforth, Route From Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley, p. 110.
65. "Letter to George A. Smith, Great Salt Lake City, Feb. 7, 1855 to F.D. Richards, Liverpool England," Millenial Star, XVII, 270, 396.
66. Compendium of the Seventh Census, p. 381.
67. United States Census 1860, Manufactures, pp. 668-669.

there were sixteen hundred people there,[68] while in 1860 there were 8,236 in the city[69] and in 1870 the number had increased to 12,854.[70]

In addition to the manufacturers there were merchants in Salt Lake City almost from its beginning. In 1849 Livingston and Kinkead brought goods valued at $20,000 to Deseret, which they displayed in their store, a small adobe house. A year later Halliday and Warner opened a shop in the settlement. From these small beginnings the mercantile business grew rapidly. Many articles necessary for life could not be manufactured in early Salt Lake City since the cost of machinery was prohibitive. The merchants sold goods brought from the East and marketed the local products. Piercy states that "in the year 1854 as many as eight stores were built in East Temple (Main) Street, and six more in other parts of the city."[71] The Mormon Church Historian, George Albert Smith, wrote in 1854 listing twenty-two establishments including a book store, two tin shops and a millinery store and bakery.[72] He further concluded that "the amount of capital employed altogether is not far from a million dollars.[73]

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68. John Smith, Epistle of the High Council to Brigham Young and the Quorum, Great Salt Lake City, March 4, 1848.
69. Ibid., 1860 Population, p. 576.
70. Ibid., 1870 Population, p. 276.
71. James Linforth, Route From Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley, p. 110.
72. "Letter George A. Smith, Great Salt Lake City, August 29, 1854 to F.D. Richards, Liverpool, England," Millenial Star, XVI, 733.
73. Ibid.

By the close of the Civil War, Salt Lake had assumed a decidedly urban aspect. The two daily, one weekly, and two semi-weekly newspapers published there in 1865 received telegraphic news from various parts of the United States. There were "four extensive banking houses .... and regular lines of stage coaches "[74] running east, west, north and south. Harper's Weekly in 1866 described the community as follows:

"There were some very fine buildings fast springing up in the city, and within the last six years, in this particular the place has made astonishing progress. In fact within that period East Temple Street, or Main Street frequently called, has been almost rebuilt, and is now filling up with imposing looking stores, and banking establishments. The principal stores are those of W.S. Godbe, William Jennings, Kimball and Laurence, Walker Brothers, and Woodmansee. Godbe's store is palatial in appearance, and when the ideality of its architect finds its elaboration in the finish or ornamental plastering above the rock cut basement, it will present a still more imposing appearance. Mr. Jenning's store, on the opposite side has a solider magnificence; and Kimball and Laurence, Walker Brothers and others are equal to many in the Eastern States. Then there is the new City Hall, the Theatre, and on the outskirts there are some splendid private residences. These are all the growth of the last six years."[75]

In 1865 Samuel Bowles stated that there were several firms each doing more than a million dollars worth of business and several of the Mormon merchants connected manufacturing with their business and had branch stores all over the territory outside of Salt Lake City.[76]

With the wealth produced through trade and through the energies of the permanent settlers a more beautiful and

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74. "Letter Samuel W. Richards, Great Salt Lake City, Dec. 3, 1865," Millenial Star, XXVIII, 77.
75. "Harper's Weekly" (date not given), Millenial Star, XXVIII, 638-639 (1866).
76. Samuel Bowles, Our New West, pp. 221-222.

inviting city of residences was built. Lumber in 1854 was produced in sufficient quantities to be used in the construction of houses. Dwellings were now built with rock foundations, with adobe walls, shingled roofs, and lumber window frames and doors.[77] The houses, with thick sun dried brick walls, were very durable, the interiors could easily be kept warm in winter and cool in summer. By the time of the Civil War two story adobe houses, improved in appearance by porches and paint, were constructed.[78] In the "60's" some of the newer buildings were built of stone, red bricks or lumber.[79] Trees and shrubbery were planted in the front grounds to beautify the landscape and provide shade; in the rear, beyond the houses, gardens were cultivated. The waters of City Creek were brought by means of irrigation ditches to provide drinking water, to mature the crops, and to nourish the trees and shrubbery. Lombardy poplars were planted along the sidewalk for shade and beauty. In 1865 Mr. Bowles described the city as follows:

"..... right beneath, ... was the city regularly and handsomely laid out, with many fine buildings, and filled with thick gardens of trees and flowers, that gave it a fairy land aspect; beyond and across, the plain spread out five to ten miles in width, with scattered farm houses and herds of cattle."[80]

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77. P.P. Pratt, Autobiography, p. 406.
78. R.F. Burton, The City of the Saints, p. 24.
79. Samuel Bowles, Across the Continent, p. 100.
80. Ibid., p. 82.

Besides these economic developments of Salt Lake, this metropolis was the "Holy City" of Mormondom. The colonists were determined from the beginning to make the religious phase of their new settlement the most important. They believed that a portion of their economic resources and their labor should be used to build their "kingdom of Heaven." From the very beginning therefore they applied their energies to develop the religious aspects of their new Zion. By means of voluntary labor and by tithes and other offerings they provided for the construction of religious edifices. The first building erected for religious services, where the Mormons gathered to hear sermons and receive instructions, was finished in the summer of 1847. It was only a bowery of brush and trees, scarcely worthy of being called a building. In 1849 this was replaced by a large frame structure with a shingle roof. In 1852 the Old Tabernacle with a seating capacity of three thousand, was completed.[81] The present Tabernacle which was finished in 1867 was described by one of the Mormon historians as follows:

> "It [the Tabernacle] is a vast elleptical dome, resting upon forty-four buttresses of solid masonry .... (The building is 250 feet long 150 feet wide, and 80 feet high. The concave ceiling, seventy feet from the floor, is arched without a pillar. The seating capacity is seven or eight thousand, but ten thousand persons can crowd into the interior, which has a horse shoe gallery, terminating at the choir in front of the great organ."[82]

This building formed a large auditorium where the principal leaders of Mormonism preached to their followers. It

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81. O.F. Whitney, Popular History of Utah, p. 90.
82. Ibid., pp. 214-215.

housed the religious meetings of the settlers and was one of the edifices to which the people gathered from all over the territory of Utah at stated times to hear religious instruction from their leaders and words of advice on such material things as the formation of settlement and the development of industry. In this Tabernacle, twice a year, in April and October, the officials of the Church, from the greatest to the least, as well as thousands of lay members, gathered to hear doctrinal sermons and to vote to support and sustain their ecclesiastical authorities. Consequently Salt Lake City became the fountainhead of religion among the intermountain areas settled by the Mormon people. These buildings, erected for religious purposes, built at a great sacrifice of economic resources and human effort, the selection of Salt Lake as the place for the semi-annual conferences, and the presence of the church authorities, made the city the Mecca of the Mormon people.

The settlers combined recreation with their religion. Even the pioneers, crossing the plains, were stirred by the music of their own band and by hymns composed by the gifted among them. From the beginning of their settlement in the valley of the Great Salt Lake, they sought by means of selected amusements to add a little color to the drab lives of colonizers. The unity of pleasure with religion was aptly stated by Brigham Young on the occasion of the opening of the Salt Lake Theatre in 1862. He said,

"We shall endeavor to make our theatrical performances a source of good, and not of evil. Rather than the latter, and rather than it should pass into the hands of the ungodly, I ask

the Lord to let the whole fabric return to its native elements. It is our privilege and our duty to search all things upon the face of the earth, and learn what there is for man to enjoy, what God has ordained for the benefit and happiness of mankind, and then make use of it with out sinning against him. Our eyes are delighted in seeing, our ears in hearing .... what a blessing it is to see the countenances of our friends radiant with delight. Our senses, if properly educated are channels of endless felicity to us but we can devote them to evil or good. Let us devote all to the glory of God and the building up of his kingdom, for in this there is lasting joy."[83]

The above quotation suggests the point of view of the orthodox in regard to the place of amusement in Mormon religion. To realize this aim the Social Hall was built in 1853 for dances and theatricals. A visitor to Salt Lake City in 1862 wrote: "Dancing seems to be considered an edifying exercise. The Prophet dances, the Apostles dance, the Bishops dance."[84] In 1862 the Salt Lake Theatre was completed and this event forever established Salt Lake City as the dramatic center of the Intermountain region. In this playhouse, which is today only a historic memory, in addition to the local talent appeared such artists as Edwin Booth, Joseph Jefferson and Sarah Bernhardt.

Moreover the chapels in the various wards of the city were used as recreational centers. The Mormons were a sociable people[85] and the pleasurable side of life was as much a part of their associations as was the religious. Each of the twenty wards of Salt Lake had its program of Amusements and the people

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83. Brigham Young, "Dedication of the New Theatre," May 6, 1862, Deseret News XI, no. 46, p. 361.
84. Richard F. Burton, The City of the Saints, p. 230.
85. Ibid., p. 229.

of the city, young and old, lost some of the sternness and monotony of a hard life by the enlivening pleasures held under the guidance of the Bishops.

Furthermore the "City of the Saints" was the headquarters of immigration. In response to the urgent messages of the leaders for the members of the church in Europe and the eastern part of the United States to "gather to Zion," and the letters from friends and relatives in Utah describing golden opportunities there, thousands of immigrants, in the years between 1848 and 1869, poured into Salt Lake City after long and tedious journeys across sea and plains. As many of these newcomers were unprepared for the task of colonizing in an arid country, they remained for a time in Salt Lake City where their specialized training gained in industry in Great Britain provided them the means of a livelihood and where, under the direction of experienced colonizers, they learned how to till the soil and construct ditches for irrigation. Thus their life in this metropolis was a conditioning process which prepared them for pioneering tasks, which at a later date they were to perform, of reclaiming a wilderness in order to build a Mormon civilization.

Although Brigham Young and his followers encountered conditions which necessitated the formation of a different kind of settlement in Salt Lake Valley from that which they had built in the Middle West, they were able to utilize many of the institutions which they had developed in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois.

The arid prairie between the mountains was a marked contrast to the site of "Nauvoo the Beautiful." In this new environment they began their colonization in the most elemental fashion. They plowed the hard sod to plant their crops and after the manner of the Pilgrims of New England and "the Gentlemen Adventurers" of Jamestown they erected a fort to shelter them from the weather and from the menace of the lurking Indians. These early efforts were similar to the work of frontiersmen and pioneers everywhere; more unity of effort was apparent however, in this struggling frontier post than was usually the case in western beginnings. The farsighted and dominating leadership of Brigham Young, the cooperation of the people which was shown in the building of irrigation canals to nourish crops, and the wealth acquired from the trade with the California gold seekers rapidly accelerated the growth of Salt Lake from a frontier post to a beautiful city.

These pioneers developed industry since the distance from the Missouri River made the cost of transportation excessively high. The various settlements, which by 1850 were beginning beyond Salt Lake, needed the manufactured goods and looked to their parent settlement as a source to supply their needs. There was a constantly growing market which tended to make Salt Lake grow into a manufacturing city. Only when the railroad came overland in 1869 and when the industry of the settlements outside grew, did the industrial activity of Salt Lake City slacken.

While these religious pioneers worked unceasingly to develop economic competence their most cherished desire was to build a religious center. By joint efforts, they erected their temple, their tabernacle, and chapels where they could worship. The unanimity with which the people sustained their authorities in their conferences and the alacrity with which they carried out the plans of their leaders grew out of the recognition of the wisdom and the divine guidance which they were confident these men possessed. The city of Salt Lake was a great reservoir into which streams of immigrants, with their traditions and institutions, flowed. After remaining there for a time they found their way out to the frontier beyond carrying with them ideas and equipment to reproduce what they had seen and felt.

CHAPTER III

THE INFLUENCE OF ENVIRONMENT AND INDIANS UPON SETTLEMENT

The physiographic region colonized by the Mormon people in the period from 1847 to 1880 was large in area but limited in agricultural possibilities. There were two geographic basins, the Great Basin and the Colorado River basin. The former was the more significant since the greater portion of population settled there. It extended from southeastern Idaho on the north to the Colorado in southern Utah on the south and from the Wasatch mountains on the east to the Sierra Nevadas in Eastern California on the west. In the Wasatch mountains many small rivers and creeks had their sources and flowed generally west finding their way into the Sevier Sink, the Little Salt Lake, Utah Lake and the Great Salt Lake. The rivers cut sharply through their mountain courses producing deep canyons. The most important portion of the Great Basin for settlement was a strip along the foothills of the Wasatch from the northern end of Cache Valley on the north to Kanarra just below Cedar City on the southwest and to Long Valley just south of Panguitch on the southeast. This region was divided into numerous high plains each surrounded almost entirely by mountains, the most important of these valleys were Cache, Weber, Salt Lake, Utah and San Pete.[1] West of this fertile strip the

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1. M.E. Jones, Utah, p. 23.

Great Basin was a "large plain with island like and interrupted ranges of mountains"[2] but very dry and barren.

The Colorado River basin where the colonies were planted extended from Fort Bridger and the nearby Green River country in southwestern Wyoming southwestward to the sources of the San Juan and Little Colorado Rivers in southeastern Utah and northeastern Arizona and to the waters of the Virgen in southwestern Utah and southeastern Nevada. This area presented to the travel-weary settlers the appearance of "a region of great canyons and barren mesas."[3] This meant that this country was to contain comparatively few colonies.

The physical features in the regions where the settlements were made did much to determine the forms and methods of early colonization in this arid area. The rainfall, which varied from four inches in the Green River region to eight in central Utah and seventeen in Salt Lake Valley,[4] was not sufficient to mature agricultural crops. Fortunately there was usually a heavy snowfall during the winter and the mountain forests formed a watershed to delay the melting of the snow until later in the season when it was needed for agriculture. The size of the stream which flowed through a valley during July, August and September determined the number of acres that might be cultivated successfully on its banks. Mountain creeks and springs furnished the water necessary for drinking

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2. Ibid., p. 27.
3. Ibid., p. 31.
4. Ibid., pp. 65-66.

and culinary purposes and for the turning of mills. Where there was a stream that did not disappear during the summer, there was usually a settlement of some proportions unless other features in the environment made such a venture impossible. As Dana wrote, "water rather than land is the open sesame to the agricultural development of the semi-arid regions." The presence of streams made possible the expansion of settlements since most of the valleys could be colonized providing moisture was to be found there. But the limitation of water in a valley often determined the size of a farm which a man might have since the conditions of settlement in distant regions required that a large enough colony be established to protect itself. Furthermore because the streams were so far apart the area of the territory to be colonized was extensive. Lack of rainfall and the distance between streams made it necessary for Brigham Young to explore large areas of land for expansion. The absence of moisture limited the formation of colonies to restricted areas where the water could most easily and with least waste be brought to the farms. The conserving of moisture was the only method by which settlement could be increased after the colonies had been established on the various streams.

In addition to water, soil was an important feature in determining settlement. Because the region about the foothills of the Wasatch mountains contained large stretches "of deep fertile soils .... with a mantle of fine rock waste which be-

comes a fertile soil as soon as water is added to it,"[5] this area became the "garden spot" of the intermountain region. West of this strip the lands were too highly impregnated with salt for agricultural purposes. Consequently the expanse of the fertile lands was limited to a few miles in width, but they extended except where they were enclosed by mountains for about three hundred miles north and south. The shaly sandstones of the numerous valleys of the Colorado River Basin were "as a rule rich in iron poor in clay and infertile."[6] Lack of watersheds to hold back the sources of the Colorado in the early months resulted in flood waters in the spring which washed away the best soils and carried them to the ocean.[7] However some of the small valleys of the Colorado were fertile in soils and to these regions small settlements were sent. In this manner the good soils attracted the settlers and determined that the colonies should be agricultural if other factors were favorable. This was only possible however where the valleys were five thousand feet or fewer in altitude. On the higher prairies seasons were too short for favorable agricultural development.

To form settlements large supplies of timber were needed. Because there was a heavy growth of timber in the mountains[8] and little or none on the plains,[9] and the building of roads was

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5. Mark Jefferson, "The Oasis at the Foot of the Wasatch," Geographical Review, I, 346.
6. S.T. Dana, "What the National Forests Etc.," in C.F. Colby, Source Book of Economic Geography of North America, p. 380.
7. Mark Jefferson, "The Oasis etc.," Geographic Review, I, 353-6.
8. Capt. J.H. Simpson, Explorations Across the Great Basin of Utah, pp. 321-322.
9. Ibid., p. 322.

difficult and costly, the towns were built near the mountains. To reach the forests, roads were built by united effort of the colonists. Where the timber was lacking or had to be brought from great distances, rock or adobes had to be used for building purposes. The presence of forests meant that the colony would have log houses for their first shelters, and sawmills later gave them more dignified frame residences.

Since the early settlements had difficulty raising grain enough for human wants the colonists needed grass for grazing purposes. The outlying desert areas were excellent winter ranges for the cattle and sheep, while the foothills, the canyons, and the mountain slopes furnished grazing lands during the spring, summer, and fall. As many of the cattle were used for milk it was necessary to drive them home in the evenings, and thus settlements were often founded near the mountains where grasses were available. The higher valleys, where frosts prevented agriculture, were utilized for cattle grazing. Often the herds of a distant town were driven in to these high valleys by colonizers whose duties were to protect the cattle from the menace of Indians and wild animals.

The climate of the intermountain region, where these early settlements were made, varied greatly. In the southern portions with an altitude of about twenty-eight hundred feet such as the valley of the Virgen, "a tropical climate prevails"[10] and it was there possible to produce semi-tropical

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10. M.E. Jones, Utah, p. 31.

fruits; on the high cold plains, with an altitude of six thousand feet or more especially in the north, only stock and the hardier grains could be raised. The valleys between these two extremes which had an elevation from four to five thousand feet formed the cereal belt of the settlers. It was due to the extremes of climate that the early pioneers were able to raise a variety of agricultural products to vary the monotony of the simple diet of the frontier.

The physical features tended to produce isolation. Because the streams were often distant from each other and as the fertile strips of land were on their banks the various settlements were frequently many miles apart. Thus there was an isolation of the various communities in spite of the gregarious nature of the people. Furthermore the barren Colorado plateau on the east and the Great American Desert on the west isolated the Utah settlers from the rest of the United States notwithstanding the fact that they were on the overland trail.

The Indians, who occupied the land upon which the Mormons were determined to settle proved less of a barrier than they usually formed in the colonization of the frontier. There were a number of features which contributed to the success of these pioneers who pushed into the Indian country. The Mormon leaders in similar fashion to Roger Williams and William Penn regarded the Indians as "children of God." They believed that these dusky people were from the tribes of Israel.[11] This

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11. The Book of Mormon contains an account of the descent of the Indians in which the Indians are alleged to be descended from Israelites.

meant a more friendly contact between the redman and these white pioneers. Furthermore Brigham Young was very cautious in his dealings with the aborigenes for just prior to his entrance into Salt Lake Valley he sent word to his vanguard that "he felt inclined not to crowd upon the Utes till we have a chance to get acquainted with them."[12] He held conferences with the Indians in which he sought and received their approval for the settlers to colonize in the Indian country.[13] His experience with the aborigenes led him to determine a policy and to instruct the leaders in the settlements to follow it. He announced "that it is cheaper to feed the Indians than to fight them."[14] To carry out this plan, food and clothing were sent from Salt Lake City to give to the red men to keep peace and made friends with them. Believing that the Indian had as much right to life as a white man Brigham Young wrote: "Why should men have a disposition to kill a destitute naked Indian who may steal a shirt or a horse and thinks it no harm, when they never think of meting out a life retribution to a white man who steals, although he has been taught better from his infancy?"[15] In addition to the cautious policy of the leader to preserve

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12. Letter Willard Richards and Geo. A. Smith July 21, 1847 to Orson Pratt. (Pratt was in command of the vanguard).
13. A typical conference of this type was reported by Brigham Young in his Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. See Exec. Docts., 2 Session 32 Congress, pp. 437-438.
14. "Brigham Young Letter to Pres. O. Hyde and Bishops and Presidents Elders and Brethren in Sanpete County and up the Sevier River," in Brigham Young, Letter Book, MS, 1865, p. 746.
15. "Letter Brigham Young to settlers in Provo Jan. 1, 1850," in Brigham Young, Journal, MS, 1850, p. 1.

peace he established agencies which did much to promote friendly relations between the people of the two races. The Latter Day Saints, a group interested in religious proselyting, sought to convert the Indians to Mormonism. In the Conference of the Church held in Salt Lake City April 8, 1855, missionaries were called and sent forth to establish missions among the Indians on the Salmon River in Central Idaho, in Carson valley in western Nevada, at the foot of the Elk mountains in southeastern Utah, and at Los Vegos in southern Nevada.[16] Subsequently missions were established in other distant regions. The instructions to these proselyters indicated the plans of the Mormon leader in regard to converting and civilizing the Indians. To some of these missionaries he wrote as follows:

> "Schools should be established, and a nucleus established where Indians can come with a degree of assurance of receiving not only knowledge and wisdom, but the common necessaries of life, also instructions in the art of husbandry and the acts of civilized life .... We have many duties to perform, but none more important than to take Israel (Indians) by the hand and lead them back into a knowledge of the Lord God of their fathers, to teach them the way to obtain a subsistence from the elements which God has furnished for the support of man .... Seek to get the young under the good influence and so soon as you can start a school for them inculcate the principles of virtue and cleanliness."[17]

Some of these missionaries were repulsed by the Indians, but in general their efforts produced beneficial results in the advance of the settlers into the new lands. Such emissaries as Jacob Hamblin, Thales Haskill, Ira Hatch, and George Washington

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16. Brigham Young, Journal, MS, 1855, p. 32.
17. Brigham Young,Letter to Rufus Allen, Harmony (Southwestern Utah) Great Salt Lake City Aug. 29, 1855, Brigham Young, Letter Book, II, MS, (1855), pp. 317-18.

Hill, established life-long friendships with them converting many of them to Mormonism and keeping peace between the two races when the dangers of war menaced the safety of the pioneers. The Indians responded frequently to the friendly overtures of Brigham Young, and the missionaries for the friendship of Washikie prevented a Shoshonean "conspiracy" to drive the settlers from the valleys of northern Utah; and the peacefulness of Kanosh and other chieftains in the south prevented the uprisings of the red men from becoming unusually serious. Furthermore the Indian missions were the forerunners of permanent settlement. The establishment of the Santa Clara on the Virgen in 1855 paved the way for the colonization of St. George in 1861; and the Indian mission into northern and central Arizona among the Moquis and Navajos led by Jacob Hamblin resulted in the establishment of Mormon settlements on the Little Colorado and the Gila Rivers in Arizona. By the adoption of a cautious and humane policy and by means of missionary activity the Mormon settlers were able to break through the Indian barrier and form communities in the Indian country and maintain friendly relations with them during a larger portion of the period of colonization. Moreover in some cases the Indians invited the sending of colonists into the Indian country. In 1848 Walker, one of the Ute chieftains, sent a request to Brigham Young to found a settlement in the Sanpete region. The planting of Manti in 1849 was the result of this invitation.

Despite these friendly overtures it was impossible to maintain constant peace between the two races, since the

settlers inevitably drove away or killed the game which the Indians needed for a livelihood, or occupied the choice lands which formerly the Indian squaws had tilled. In 1849 the Indian Commission complained that "the Mormon settlement in the Salt Lake Valley has not only greatly diminished" their [Indians'] formerly very great resource of obtaining fish out of Utah Lake and its sources, which to them was an important resource, but their settlement, with their great emigration there and to California, has already nearly driven away all the game, and will unquestionably soon deprive them almost entirely of the only chance they have for game."[18]

The advance of the white man was the signal for the outbreak of a series of Indian wars which retarded the advance of the settlers. In 1848 and 1849 the stealing of cattle and the attacks on Fort Utah on the shores of Utah Lake prevented the expansion of settlement beyond that lone post. With the cessation of conflict colonies were planted in the vicinity of this fort. Next came the rising of 1853 which checked further settlement in Utah county and limited colonization in Sanpete to Manti. When peace came again the Sanpete settlers pushed north and south from Manti. Then came the Indian wars of the "60's" and expansion was stopped. Once more the redmen were beaten, the distant lands were occupied and the pioneers were ready to push into Arizona. They were temporarily delayed

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18. "Annual Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Nov. 30, 1849," Exec. Docts., 1st Session 31 Congress, Vol. 3, part 2, p. 1003.

by the Navajo raids, but peace opened the way in the "70's" for the spread into the choice valleys of Arizona and the more remote regions of Utah. Thus the Indians held the white men in check until large enough groups were formed to break through the cordon.

These outbreaks not only retarded temporarily the advance of the settlers, but caused the temporary abandonment of some communities already made and affected the forms and methods of the colonies which were being established. In 1856 Brigham Young sent word throughout the settlements "To those persons residing in isolated locations and small settlements, as also to those who are herding stock upon the ranges, I say, place yourselves in a position of defense, either by removing to a safe place or in strengthening up your defence and increasing your numbers."[19] In 1867 he sent instructions to Orson Hyde, in charge of the Sanpete Sevier settlements, to evacuate all the settlements south of Gunnison because of Indian troubles.[20] This advice was generally obeyed. Even the Indian Missionaries built forts to protect themselves in case the natives appeared unfriendly.[21] The menace of these marauders caused the pioneers to build their settlements in the form of forts. Speaking in Parowan in 1854 Brigham Young

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19. "Proclamation of the Governor" (B. Young) Deseret News, V, no. 51, p. 405, Feb. 27, 1856.
20. "Letter First Presidency Great Salt Lake City, April 2, 1867 to Orson Hyde," in Brigham Young, Letter Book, 1867-1868, pp. 96-97.
21. "Report of D. Moore Clerk of Salmon River Mission, Fort Limhi, Dec. 4, 1855," Deseret News, V, 360.

gave the advice to all the settlements as follows:

"I want to see every settlement fort in their cities. I want you to make a wall round here so that no man can get over and if your enemies come with scaling ladders they can not get to you and no gun faze the wall and be perfectly safe make 4 permanent gates and make yourselves secure so that you can sleep in peace .... Make the wall six feet thick and 6 or 8 feet high and dont be talking about it but go to and do it."[22]

Acting upon the advice of their leader[23] the people of the various colonies built stone, mud or log stockades as a means of protection against the Indians. During the raids the cattle were driven into these enclosures for protection. During the wars when the raiders were not near these settlements the cattle were taken to the grazing lands or nearby pastures under guards. This centering of people close together for defence had a lasting influence upon people so gregarious as were these settlers. After these wars were over, though people no longer lived in such close proximity, still the location of the fort became the center of the town and people continued to live in New England fashion around this former site of protection against the Indians.

Moreover the size of the settlement was frequently determined by the Indian menace. The leaders in Salt Lake City sent specified instructions to settlers returning to regions which they had evacuated because of the danger of attacks. The settlers were warned not to reestablish a colony unless a party

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22. Speech of Brigham Young, Parowan, May 21, 1854 (in folder marked Parowan, MS).
23. Remarks Brigham Young, Richmond, June 9, 1860 in B. Young, Journal, MS, June 9, 1860.

of fifty well-armed men were available and no women or children were to be taken to these settlements unless a good wall ten feet high and three feet thick was built. Further they were to have a grist mill within the fort and the leaders of the settlements were to be chosen by Brigham Young and his councilors.[24]

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24. "Instructions by First Presidency to Persons going to reinstate Settlements in Sevier Valley," Brigham Young, Letter Book, 1867-1868, pp. 737-740.

CHAPTER IV

THE FORMATION OF CENTERS OF SETTLEMENT

As the pioneers labored to build their fort in Salt Lake Valley in 1847, their leaders foresaw an extended inter-mountain region where colonies could be made. In 1847 John Smith who was in charge in Salt Lake Valley wrote: "We expect to form settlements at different points in the valley and in neighboring valleys, according to the accumulation of our numbers."[1] While Brigham Young directed the founding of Salt Lake City he visualized a Mormon "kingdom" extending far beyond the valley - a vast inland country filled with communities peopled by his followers - all held together by bonds of religious solidarity. But this leader was more than a dreamer, he was a builder of cities. So in the early years he sent explorers forth to find lands suitable for his people. Then he chose individuals to occupy the distant valleys as centers from which later other regions would be colonized. Carefully he selected the directors, vigorously he instructed the settlers; and thus prepared, little groups of Mormons set forth upon their journeys to their future homes. Upon reaching their destination, these pioneers began the tasks of building their settlements so that the region might be held and occupied by the thousands of immigrants who were annually arriving in Salt Lake City.

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1. Letter John Smith, Great Salt Lake City, December 7, 1847, to the Board of Management of Hudson's Bay Company, MS.

In 1849 Brigham Young, with the information concerning the nature of the southern country furnished him by members of the Mormon Battalion, said that a colony would be sent down to the Gila River on the southern boundary of the United States in southern Arizona to raise cotton and sugar cane.[2] In 1850 he determined to plant colonies from Salt Lake City to the Pacific Ocean.[3] That same year, when the constitution for the State of Deseret was presented before Congress, the territory to be embraced within the proposed state included all of the present state of Utah, almost all of Nevada, and Arizona, the western third of Colorado, southwestern Wyoming, a portion of western New Mexico and southern California including San Diego and Los Angeles. This was the proposed Mormon commonwealth as it was originally planned. When Congress refused to grant statehood and portions of this region were settled by people of different religious convictions, the plans for so extensive a Mormon state had to be considerably modified.

There were many reasons for the expansion beyond Salt Lake City. The success of the missionaries in the British Isles and the Scandinavian countries and the determination of the leader to gather these converts to "Zion" required the acquisition of a region large enough to colonize. Furthermore the activity of the missionaries in the Pacific Islands caused Brigham Young to inquire for sites climatically fitted for these

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2. Brigham Young, Journal 1849, May 27, 1849, MS, p. 84.
3. Brigham Young, Sermon, Bowery, Salt Lake City, Oct. 27, 1850, Brigham Young Journal, 1850, October 27, MS.

people to settle.[4] Moreover settlements were planned for the purpose of facilitating the movement of the immigrants to Utah. Small colonies were to be built along the Overland route where food could be raised and stored and provided for the converts who might "tarry until the way shall be open for them to come to the valleys of the mountains."[5] In 1851 Brigham Young planned that migration to Utah should in the future come by way of southern California.[6] This proposal does much to explain the activity of the Mormons in southern California. Since the earlier history of this people had been filled with conflict with the neighbors who did not have the same religious ideas, the areas to be occupied by these settlers were to be held only by Mormons. Thus the regions available for agriculture were inhabited to prevent others from settling in the Mormon country.[7]

Stations had to be built to protect the mail route from the Missouri River to Utah and on to California.[8] It was necessary also to extend settlement in the intermountain country to make the colonists self sufficient economically. Moreover the limited flow of the rivers and creeks made it possible for only a small number to settle on the banks of each desirable stream, and the distance between these sites meant that a

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4. Brigham Young, Journal, 1854, MS, p. 64.
5. "Eleventh Epistle of the First Presidency," Deseret News, April 13, 1854, p. 3.
6. Brigham Young, Journal, 1851, MS, p. 9.
7. Brigham Young, Letter Book 1861-1865, MS, pp. 488-489.
8. Letter Presidency to A. Lyman and C.C. Rich in California, Great Salt Lake City, Oct. 23, 1851, MS.

large territory was required for the colonization of the newcomers.

When the leader of this new religion had determined in a general way upon the extent of the region where his people could settle, the next step was to examine the country and determine which valleys were desirable. It was a policy of Brigham Young and his advisors to have the country explored before men were sent to found a town. If the reports of the explorers were adverse as to the conditions in a valley or if they found only a small stream of water or a limited range for cattle, Brigham Young would not send a colony or would send only a small group to settle in that particular valley. The exploration of the area near Salt Lake City began in the period of its first settlement. In August 1847 some men were sent to the north as far as Cache Valley. They reported the flourishing condition of the crops at Goodyear's Fort[9] (now Ogden) and stated that Cache was the most beautiful valley that they had seen.[10] Moreover in August 1847 a small party of men returned to Salt Lake City from Utah Lake to the south and described the nature of Utah valley.[11] These reports gave Brigham Young and his associates a knowledge of the country that was to lead to the settlement of Davis County, Ogden and Provo.

Late in 1847 the southwestern portion of Utah was partly explored by a party which went to California to buy

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9. Thomas Bullock, Pioneer Camp Journal No. 2, 1847, MS, p. 68.
10. Ibid., p. 68.
11. Ibid., p. 68.

cattle and provisions.[12] In 1849 as Brigham Young's interest increased in the country to the southwest to California, the General Assembly of Deseret commissioned Parley P. Pratt to raise a company of fifty men with the necessary supplies for the purpose of examining "the country and ascertain its facilities to sustain a population."[13] These men carefully explored the region near the Little Salt Lake and the valley of the Virgen River. The report of the leader is typical of the information which Brigham Young received and the features for which the explorers were looking. He wrote to Brigham Young as follows:

"The place where we now are (Parowan) say Latitude 37 50' is well adapted to the sustenance and convenience of a small settlement say 50 or 100 families .... This location is immediately east of the Little Salt Lake from which it may be 6 miles distant in the same valley and at the western foot of the Wasatch range. The land is rich, lies beautifully, undulating westward and the best calculated for watering of any place we have seen of late. Two small streams rather less than City Creek come out high, run nearly on a level, with the top of the ground on the highest levels, and throw out their surplus floods in times of high water, dispercing fertility in every direction. The wire grass, willows, weeds and other grasses grow exceedingly dense over thousands of acres. Pasture lands also extend for miles north and south of the farming lands and the foothills from one to two miles distant are black with inexhaustible supplies of fuel, easy of access and consisting of shrub Pine and Cedar about twelve feet high. Good building timber will be harder to obtain but shews itself in abundance among the mountains. There is also free stone, in abundance, near a good townsite and water power running through, with any desirable amount of fall and being on the immediate line of travel is certainly a desirable location. The weather here is like spring."[14]

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12. James G. Bleak, Annals of the Southern Mission Book A, MS, p. 1.
13. Ibid., p. 1.
14. Letter Parley P. Pratt to the Presidency Dec. 25, 1849, MS.

These explorations of Parley P. Pratt and his company prepared the way for the settlement of Parowan and through it of the surrounding country south to the "rim" of the Basin.

From Parowan the explorers went north and south selecting sites for further settlements. In 1849 Amasa Lyman and others were sent to Utah Lake Valley to "learn its capabilities for a stock range."[15] Furthermore Brigham Young often led expeditions to the regions where the prospective settlements were to be made. This was especially the case where he considered the colony which he anticipated forming very important. He made several trips to the Virgen River in southwestern Utah prior to sending people to form the very important community of Saint George. In 1851 he stated, "On the 22nd I started with a company on a visit to the southern settlements and to explore the valley of the Sevier and other places."[16] In 1863 George W. Bean and some others left Provo for the further exploration of the upper Sevier before that area was occupied. These explorers surveyed the site for Richfield, Monroe, and Saint Joseph.[17] The same year Jacob Hamblin investigated the possibilities of planting colonies on the banks of the Colorado River.[18]

In addition to the above type of explorations other methods were used for the examination of the country to be

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15. Brigham Young, Journal, MS, Jan. 6, 1849.
16. Brigham Young, Journal, MS, April 22, 1851, p. 43.
17. Sevier Stake Records, Historical Record, Book B, MS, pp. 13-15.
18. Brigham Young, Letter Book, 1860-1864, MS, p. 513.

settled. The missionaries, who labored among the Indians frequently forwarded information concerning the valleys near the fields of their activities. These reports were written periodically to Brigham Young who utilized them for information for settlers who later followed the missionaries into the Indian country. Also the seeking of new cattle ranges because of the lack of feed for the animals led to the survey of new country where later settlements were made. The failure of the range in Salt Lake Valley in 1847 forced men to move north in the spring, summer and fall with their herds. In the autumn of 1847 cattle grazed on the site of Bountiful ten miles north of Salt Lake City. In 1849 cattle were herded on the shores of Utah Lake and in 1855 church animals were taken to Cache Valley on account of the excellent grasses in that region.[19] The herders in these cattle stations were the forerunners of settlement and in many cases they were the first permanent colonists.

Because of the reports of these numerous explorers, and on account of his own careful observations, Brigham Young possessed unusually accurate knowledge concerning the facilities of the numerous scattered valleys to support colonists. This information made possible the careful planning of each prospective settlement which was made in the isolated valleys of the intermountain country.

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19. Brigham Young Journal, 1855, MS, p. 83.

Besides this knowledge which he possessed, Brigham Young occupied a position which made it possible for him to dominate and direct the colonization of the region. Captain Stansbury who was making a survey of the Great Salt Lake at the time when these settlements were being formed, and who had ample opportunity to observe the position which Brigham Young held among the settlers described him as follows:

"Intimately connected with them from their exodus from Illinois, this man has indeed been their Moses, leading them through the wilderness to a remote and unknown land, where they have since set up their tabernacle, and where they are now building their temple. Resolute in danger, firm and sagacious in council, prompt and energetic in emergency, and enthusiastically devoted to the honor and the interests of his people, he had won their unlimited confidence, esteem and veneration, and held an unrivalled place in their hearts .... he combined in his own character the triple character of confidential advisor, temporal ruler and prophet of God. Intimately acquainted with their character, capacities, wants, and weaknesses; identified now with their prosperity, as he had formerly shared to the full in their adversity and sorrows; honored, trusted, the whole wealth of the commonwealth placed in his hands, for the advancement both of the spiritual and temporal interests of the infant settlement--he was, surely of all others the man best fitted to preside under the auspices of the General Government, over a colony of which he may justly be said to have been the founder."[20]

That which made it possible to change this arid wilderness to flourishing colonies was the unquestioned obedience which the people gave to this leader in whom they had supreme confidence and their willingness to cooperate in the necessary labor to bring about this transformation.

Brigham Young hoped to establish a state in the intermountain country where his people, unmolested by non-conforming

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20. H. Stansbury, Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah, pp. 146-147.

neighbors, could raise crops, develop industry, build churches and worship God in their own fashion. The comfortable surplus which it was expected could be produced, was to be used to develop, in addition to the material phases, the intangible "Kingdom of Heaven." He counseled the Mormons to remain in the valleys of Utah instead of leaving to seek gold in California. He determined to evolve a religious State of Deseret in which the founders might gain a livelihood by vigorous toil and spend their leisure in regulated community pleasure, relaxation and religious worship. Brigham Young outlined his plans for this "Bible Commonwealth" in his sermons to his followers. Speaking to them, he said:

"The labor we perform produces principally the spiritual wealth. There is no such thing as dividing temporal from spiritual labor. It is all manual labor. If it is to preach, baptize, lay on hands, go and fence a field, sow and water it for the Kingdom of God on earth .... The aim of the Latter Day Saints is to beautify the earth like the Garden of Eden for the reception of the Son of Man [Christ]."21

Later he stated:

"We are not going to wait for the angels, or for Enoch and his company to come and build up Zion, but we are going to build it. We will raise our wheat, build our houses, fence our farms, plant our vineyards and orchards, and produce everything that will make our bodies comfortable and happy and in this manner we intend to build up Zion on the earth, and purify it and cleanse it from all pollutions."22

To emphasize the necessity of using wealth for unselfish purposes, he said,

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21. Brigham Young, Sermon, Conference in Cedar City, May 20, 1855. (Folder labeled Cedar City in Church Historians Office).
22. Sermon, Brigham Young, in Salt Lake Tabernacle, Feb. 23, 1862, Deseret News, XI, no. 45, p. 353.

"If you will obey my counsel you will constantly increase in riches and comforts of life; though every time I speak upon this subject I wish to Keep in view that if we cannot handle the things of this world without unduly placing our affections upon them I pray God to keep them out of our possessions. I would rather have the people clad with sheepskins and goatskins, than to have them possess the wealth of this world without feeling that they could trample it all under their feet at any moment. Earthly wealth and greatness should only be used to subserve the purposes of God."[23]

To occupy permanently the desirable valleys of the intermountain west, it was necessary to establish outposts in strategic places which would act as nucleii from which the intervening regions could be settled. These distant outposts or centers were to "act as strainers,"[24] to receive the population and scatter it into the surrounding country for purposes of colonization. In the ten years from 1848 until 1858 certain important locations were chosen for the purpose of holding the vast region which had been included within the boundaries of the State of Deseret. The centers north of Salt Lake City were Ogden, founded in 1848;[25] Brigham City twenty miles beyond settled in 1851;[26] and Wellsville in Cache Valley which in 1856 was on the northern frontier.

It was in the region south of Salt Lake that Brigham Young established the greater number of these outposts in the period prior to 1858. They were the following: Fort Utah (later Provo) built in 1849 on the shores of Utah Lake; Manti

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23. Sermon Brigham Young, Salt Lake Tabernacle, Jan. 5, 1862, Deseret News, XI, no. 29, p. 226.
24. "Brigham Young, Letter to Amasa Lyman and C.C. Rich, Great Salt Lake City, Sept. 19, 1854," Letter Book, 1854, MS, p. 679.
25. An Epistle of the High Council of this City (Salt Lake) to Prest. B. Young and Quorum Mar. 4, 1848, MS.
26. Box Elder Stake Records, Brigham City.

settled a hundred miles farther south that same year; Fillmore about a hundred miles southwest founded in 1851 as the territorial capitol of Utah; Parowan beyond on the California road in 1851 was planted as the distant outpost in southwestern Utah; San Bernardino in 1851 was constructed in Cajon Pass in the Sierra Nevada mountains fronting the Pacific as the western center of Mormon colonization.

With the knowledge which the explorers furnished at hand, Brigham Young and his counselors discussed together the problems connected with the formation of each prospective colony and later their proposals were presented in conference for ratification by the people. When the region for the settlement had been selected, the next serious problem was the choosing of a leader who was adequately prepared and experienced to direct the migration and to lead in the solution of the numerous material difficulties which would face the infant community. The importance which Brigham Young and his advisors attached to the prospective settlement was often shown by the selection of the leader, concerning which, Brigham Young said, "When we establish a town or city we set apart a man to preside over the affairs of that place. He is to dictate in all the affairs of that place for instance the people called on George A. Smith to be their president."[27]

These leaders were chosen by Brigham Young, ratified by the members of the church, and approved by the colonists. Often

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27. Brigham Young, Sermon, Parowan, May 21, 1855, MS. (Folder marked Parowan in Church Historian's Office).

important officials were among those selected. George A. Smith, one of the Apostles, led the colony which was sent to Parowan; his appointment was an indication that Brigham Young attached great importance to the formation of that settlement and expected a strong town to be formed on that frontier of Utah, large enough to control the southwestern wilderness leading to California. Amasa Lyman and Charles C. Rich, members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, were appointed to take charge of the prospective outpost of San Bernardino on the mountain trail over Cajon Pass leading to the coast of southern California. Attaching great importance to the successful establishment of Saint George in Utah's Dixie land, Brigham Young chose Orson Pratt and Erastus Snow, two outstanding officials, to direct the settlement of that place. Furthermore Orson Hyde, one of the ranking Apostles was selected first to take charge of the migration on the Green River in Wyoming and later to guide the destinies of the Mormon outpost in the Carson Valley region of Nevada.

Sometimes a group would be sent to form a small settlement out on the frontier. They went forth to learn if the conditions of the country were favorable or unfavorable for settlement. If favorable, then this small colony would be a nucleus from which the surrounding country might be peopled. Such towns as these were founded often under the direction of experienced pioneers rather than high church officials. Isaac Morley, the leader of the company which formed the first outpost in Sanpete county, was an experienced colonizer in the

Mormon enterprises in the Middle West. Furthermore he had participated in the formation of Salt Lake City. Peter Maughan, the founder of the first outpost in Cache Valley, Wellsville, was another experienced pioneer. These men were leaders of successful settlements, and the towns which they formed became centers from which many flourishing colonies were established. Later, when these regions were ready for expansion beyond, members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles were sent to direct further settlement. Orson Hyde went to Sanpete County and Ezra T. Benson to Cache Valley.[28] In 1852 when Utah Valley had passed from a savage frontier to an agricultural area, George A. Smith was selected to "go and regulate the affairs of Utah (County) and preside over them (settlements)."[29] Amasa Lyman was selected as the leader in Millard County[30] replacing Anson Call who had founded Fillmore, in that region, in 1851. The task of directing the pioneers in founding the various centers rested upon the leaders selected. These men were important because they reflected in their particular enterprise much of the power of Brigham Young. After he selected the locations and chose the leaders he held them responsible for the successful colonization of these outposts.

The next problem to be solved was that of the selection of pioneers to form these companies. One of the methods used

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28. Brigham Young, Journal, March 2, 1860, MS, p. 41.
29. Thomas Bullock, "Synopsis of the Travels and Doings of Pres. Young and Suite to Utah County," Deseret News, II, no. 21.
30. Brigham Young, Journal, 1863, MS, pp. 76-80.

to assemble settlers for colonizing was the "call." By this plan Brigham Young and his advisors, after considering the availability of the various members made a list of those chosen to form a settlement. The names of these people were read out in Conference or a communication was sent to them notifying them that Brigham Young wished them to go to a certain locality. This constituted the "call," which was regarded as important and binding. Concerning it George A. Smith said,

"A great many elders have been called to go on this mission to raise cotton, and they should consider themselves as much on a mission as if they were among the nations preaching the gospel."[31]

Though a number disregarded this particular summons to go to Saint George, the great majority, having confidence in the judgment of their leader, accepted the call to settle. This meant that Brigham Young was able to chose the men who were vocationally prepared to build up the center according to the economic needs for which the settlement was established. Many who were summoned were in a prosperous condition in Salt Lake City or in other valleys and were loath to leave though unwilling to disobey the leader. John D. Lee, wrote in his journal:

"About the 2nd Dec. 1850 John D. Lee was called upon by Pres. B. Young to accompany Bro. G. A. Smith to the Little Salt Lake, Iron County. J. D. Lee replied that he was willing to help build up Zion in any way that the Lord wished. But to go to the Little Salt Lake was revolting to his feelings and could

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31. "George A. Smith Sermon in Bowery Salt Lake City," Deseret News, XII, Oct. 15, 1862, p. 125.

he do as much good by paying $2,000 of his possessions he would cheerfully do it sooner than to go this fall. Pres. Young said to make a settlement at that point was one of the most important things now in contemplation and continued Bro George wants to have you go with him and so do I .... J. D. Lee consented, leaving his house uncovered and his business unsettled."[32]

Christopher Arthur an early resident in Salt Lake Valley wrote: "In February 1854 a call came--we want your family to go to Cedar City--I did not feel well over it for several weeks."[33]

It is not surprising that those who were comfortably located in Salt Lake City were greatly disappointed at the prospect of beginning all over again out on the distant frontier. They accepted the summons of their prophet however, and left their habitations and crops and joined others to aid in "building up Zion." Not only were they called from Salt Lake City but many were selected from other established communities to join in the founding of new colonies.

Those who were selected were usually given careful instructions either by Brigham Young or by the leaders of the colonial enterprises. To the Parowan settlers George A. Smith gave advice in 1850 prior to their leaving for the purpose of founding an outpost in southwestern Utah. The main object of his preliminary instructions was to improve the morale of the expedition. He said: "I hope our ears will not be saluted with swearing or the taking of the name of God in vain. We want no gambling. We are going to gather the saints and build up the

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32. John D. Lee, Journal, 1850, MS, p. 1.
33. Christopher Jones Arthur, Journal, 1854, MS, p. 3.

Kingdom of God. We should act as though we are on a mission to preach the gospel. The Sabbath day should be observed in all cases."[34] However the instructions given by Brigham Young up to 1858 were not detailed since he depended upon the leader properly to guide the settlers.

Before the pioneers left to form a new colony in a distant region they met and formed an organization for the purposes of traveling safely and harmoniously to their new haven and of unitedly cooperating to found the new settlement. In 1851 when the pioneers were called to go to the Little Salt Lake the rendezvous was held in Provo. The clerk of the company wrote:

"All traveled as best suited their own convenience until they reached Provo which was the place appointed for the general rendezvous. All having reached Provo by Sunday, Dec. 15, (1850), 4 P.M. President George A. Smith called a meeting in the evening and spoke to the brethren concerning their duties on the present mission .... Captains of the Fifties and Tens were then elected and the company organized so that we may travel in proper order."[35]

When the company left for San Bernardino in 1851 to establish a settlement in southern California, Brigham Young described the organization as follows:

"Elder Lyman and Rich's company, however had swelled to about 520 persons with 152 wagons, most of whom had become so enamored of the California paradise that they had determined to try their fortunes there .... The whole company rendesvouzed at Payson, preparatory to the final start. We held meetings on the 23rd. President Heber C. Kimball and Elders C. C. Rich, A. M. Lyman, and R. McBride addressed the people. I was sick at the sight of so many Saints running to California, chiefly after the god of this world and was unable to

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34. John D. Lee, Journal, 1850-51, MS, p. 2.
35. "Journal of Henry Lunt," Dec. 15, 1850, copied from W.C. Mitchell's copy of Lunt Journal.

address them. We organized the companies with Andrew Lytle captain of hundred, and Joseph Mathews and David Seeley captains of fifties."[36]

The form of the organizations used to journey to these prospective centers was similar to that of the wagon trains of non-Mormons which went to California and Oregon but the Mormon organizations worked more effectively. The leaders of the companies, usually chosen by Brigham Young and ratified by the camp, were experienced colonizers and men of religious rank. Thus their orders were obeyed with dispatch and willingness. The sharp obedience to the orders of the captain frequently prevented such disasters as cost the California and Oregon companies much loss of life.

In the case of the people who were to journey to form the distant centers the equipment was carefully chosen. The Parowan company which left Salt Lake in the winter of 1850-1851 to build a city near the Little Salt Lake included for the one hundred and sixty-eight persons who made the journey

"two carriages, three hundred and sixty eight oxen, twelve mules, twenty beef cattle .... one hundred and one wagons, one hundred horses, one hundred and forty six cows, ... one hundred twenty one chickens, 58,992 lbs. of flour, 3486 lbs. corn, 1267 lbs., barley, 1228 lbs. groceries, 35,370 lbs. wheat, 2163 lbs. oats, 3249 lbs. Potatoes, 9 1/4 sets carpenter's tools, 1 set mill irons for saw mill, 3 sets whip saws, 110 spades and shovels, 72 scythes and cradles for grain, 45 grass scythes, 436 panes of glass, 190 pounds of nails, 3 1/2 sets Blacksmith's tools, 57 plows, 137 aces, 98 hoes, 1 brass cannon 6 pounder, 129 guns, 9 swords, 1001 lbs. of ammunition, 44 saddles and 52 pistols."[37]

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36. Brigham Young, Journal, 1851, March 20, 1851, MS, pp. 13-14.
37. Henry Lunt, Journal, p. 4.

The journey to the center was usually accomplished without serious mishap. This was due to several factors. In the first place, the obedience to orders, the careful guarding of the camp at the different stopping places, and the work of the vanguard on the march prevented Indian ambush or massacre. In the second place, the expeditions when going into Indian country were usually preceded by explorers or missionaries who made friendly overtures to the Indians and thus prepared the way for a kindly reception. Furthermore Brigham Young was cautious enough not to send settlers where the Indians appeared menacing. Again the difficulties with the red men did not usually occur until the pioneers were well established and capable of defending themselves against marauders. In most cases, the pioneers had to build certain portions of the road leading to their prospective towns. Usually the sage brush was not sufficiently high to prevent the wagon trains from traveling over the uncharted valley floors. But often rocks had to be moved and trees cut down to allow the heavily laden wagons to pass. Over the ridges it was necessary to use additional oxen to pull loads and sometimes necessary to build a gentler grade down a mountain ridge. The clerk of a company wrote:

"We doubled teams for 60 rods, the road for a mile was steep and Rocky and we had to clear timber out of our Road. We then commenced to go down a very steep hill locked our wheels for 1/2 mile, the descent was steep and in places sideling, winding amongst the trees several of the wagons had the bows broke and the covers torn. We passed through a gap in the second range of mountains ascended a hill steep sideling and

rocky."[38]

This company experienced some difficulties in regard to the loss of oxen through devastation by wolves and Indians. The redmen were pursued by the settlers and when captured were severely reprimanded by the leader of the Parowan company.[39]

The journeys to the various distant centers resembled the migration to Parowan; they were accomplished with few mishaps or casualties.

When the pioneers reached the valley where they planned to settle, the building of houses confronted them. The first of these settlements was begun in Ogden. In the winter of 1847 and 1848 Captain James Brown of the Mormon Battalion purchased Goodyear's Spanish grant, which included most of what is now Weber County for nineteen hundred and fifty dollars.[40] The founding of this colony was under the direction of John Smith and the High Council of Salt Lake Valley since Brigham Young was in the East at the time. James Brown's family and three others moved into the cabins left by Goodyear on the Banks of the Weber River. James S. Brown who passed through Weber County in 1848 comments on finding the settlers comfortably located there but states that "the country looked very wild."[41] In 1849 when Brigham Young was able to leave Salt Lake City,

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38. Ibid., p. 8.
39. Ibid., p. 4.
40. An Epistle of the High Council of this City (Salt Lake) to President Brigham Young and Quorum, March 4, 1848, MS.
41. James S. Brown, Life of a Pioneer, (Autobiography), p. 116.

he determined to make an important center out of this pivotal location on the Weber River. The October General Conference of the Church in Salt Lake City in 1849 voted "that a city (Ogden) be laid off in Captain Brown's neighborhood."[42] By this year large companies of immigrants had migrated to Salt Lake and Brigham Young saw the importance of Ogden as a center of northern colonization. In September he visited Weber County to determine the best site to select to expand Captain Brown's temporary location into a significant settlement. He described his task as follows: "On the 3rd we ascended a sand-hill to discover the best location for a town, which we finally decided should be laid out on the south side of Ogden river, at the point of bench land so that water from Weber and Ogden rivers might be taken out for irrigation and other purposes."[43] In 1850 Brigham Young gave the people of Ogden the plan of the city to be formed, with city lots and outlying agricultural lands.[44] That same year the history of Ogden on its present site began. The leader advised the people to "build good houses, school houses, meeting house and other public buildings, fence their gardens and plant out fruit trees that Ogden might be a permanent city and a suitable headquarters for the northern country."[45] In 1851 Brigham Young organized a stake at Ogden City and appointed Lorin Farr President, and chose a

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42. Brigham Young, Journal, 1849, MS, p. 138.
43. Ibid., pp. 23-24.
44. Ibid., August 28, 1850, p. 82.
45. Ibid., p. 82.

High Council and Bishops.[46] The difficulty crossing over the mountains to Great Salt Lake City in the "50's" led to building a road down Weber Canyon to Ogden and thence south to Salt Lake City. In this way Ogden became an important center on the overland route. After Ogden was founded it received large numbers of immigrants from Salt Lake which was being crowded because of the influx of people from the East and from the British Isles. Soon villages grew around Ogden and it became the trading center in northern Utah. A description of it, which shows the commercial nature of the city, was written in 1865 as follows:

"Ogden City is improving and is being built up very fast .... One year ago last spring, if you remember, I bought the corner lot in which Jonathans (Browning) Store formerly stood, and for which I paid $3,000. I sold a portion of that lot to brothers Jennings and W. G. Child who have each built a very fine store, the former of adobies, the latter of rocks, and are both full of goods. My old blacksmith shop and J. W. Browning's Hall have been converted into stores and are filled with goods. Thomas Mason and Richard Hill are each building a store, both of which are nearly finished. J. Horrocks and Foy have also built a store and are now carrying on the mercantile business. Nathan Leavett has opened a store in one of his rooms. W. H. White has built a fine large drug store, the front of which is plastered and laid off in imitation of red brick. I contracted with Messrs. Ransohoff and Co., merchants of Great Salt Lake City, who have built a neat addition to the front of the house of widow Clark, for mercantile purposes. It cost some two thousand dollars. It extends the line of the street, and adds materially to the value of that property. The company are to have the use of it for eighteen months for building it. I have also commenced, in connection with brother Joseph A. Young the President's eldest son, building an extensive grist mill, on Mill Creek north of Ogden, near Namy's cording machine. The building is to be of rock, and to carry four run of French Burr or rock. It will cost some $40,000."[47]

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46. "Fifth General Epistle of the Presidency, April 7, 1851," Millenial Star, XIII, p. 213.
47. "Letter Chauncey W. West, Ogden Nov. 21, 1865 to John Donnellon, Millenial Star, XXVIII, 4.

During the first year in Salt Lake valley the pioneers considered the region where Provo now is as a prospective frontier post. John Smith wrote in 1848, "At a council called at the suggestion of P. P. Pratt, Brother Pratt advocated the policy of a company of 20 going to Eutaw (Utah) Lake valley to fish and make a claim and buy fish of the Indians, first making a treaty with them to that effect, and volunteered to go himself, accordingly the council saw fit to authorize Brother Pratt to raise a company of volunteers who had little or no families and make a location in the Eutaw Valley if he could effect a treaty with the Indians."[48] This expedition proved unavailing at that time.[49] In March 1849 Brigham Young and his advisors "resolved that a colony of thirty men should settle in Utah Valley this spring, for the purpose of farming and fishing, and of instructing the Indians in cultivating the earth and of teaching them civilization."[50] A fundamental cause which led to the founding of Provo was the inrush of Mormon immigrants to Great Salt Lake Valley and the necessity of finding areas with water supplies sufficient to care for the needs of the settlers. The Timpanogas or Provo River offered water, fish from the lake furnished food, while the heavy grasses near the Utah Lake afforded pasturage for cattle.[51] Despite the unfriendly Indians the site presented an attractive place for an outpost for the settlement of that region. In March 1849 about thirty families traveled the forty miles south of Salt

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48. An Epistle of the High Council of this city to Pres. Young and Quorum, Great Salt Lake City, Mar. 4, 1848, MS.
49. P. P. Pratt, Autobiography, pp. 402-403.
50. Brigham Young, Journal, 1849, MS, pp. 37-38.
51. Utah Stake Wards, Provo.

Lake City to found Provo. They were led by John S. Higbee, who had been with Parley P. Pratt when he explored that territory.[52] The settlers arrived there March 12, 1849 after a three days journey from Salt Lake City.[53] That spring they built a fort[54] and named it Fort Utah, for protection from the Indians who appeared to be menacing. "It consisted of a stockade, fourteen feet high, with log houses inside, and an elevation in the center called a bastion, on which was placed a cannon, commanding the surrounding country. The fort ran east and west, its dimensions being about twenty by forty rods. There were two windows for each room, one to the front and the other to the rear. As the settlers had no glass, coarse cloth was used as a substitute in the windows."[55] In May 1849, 225 acres of land had been given to the colony which had grown to consist of forty families by that date.[56] In September, 1849 according to Thomas Bullock, "At 25 minutes past 9 President Young, Kimball and Richards and others in 3 carriages and 5 men on horseback rode out to look up a location for a town and found a very eligible place about two miles southeast of the Fort where it was decided to build a city a mile square--to be laid off in blocks of 4 acres each, divided into 8 lots of 1/2 acre each reserving the center block of 4 acres for a chapel

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52. J.M. Jensen, Early History of Provo, p. 33.
53. Ibid., p. 33.
54. Ibid., p. 34; Captain Howard Stansbury, Exploration and Survey of the Valley of Great Salt Lake, p. 127.
55. J.M. Jensen, Early History of Provo, pp. 34-35.
56. Ibid., p. 35.

and 4 (for) school houses--the streets to be five rods wide."[57] In the October Conference in 1849 the members assembled in Salt Lake City voted to locate a settlement at Utah (Provo).[58] In 1850 the new town was surveyed; it was to be of eleven blocks square each block to contain twelve lots of four by twelve rods each, the streets to be five rods wide and the center block to be reserved for churches and school.[59] In 1850 the settlers moved to a new location for the city and built a new fort.[60] Here they erected a commodious log building some fifty feet in length; it was used as a chapel, school house and amusement hall.[61] In the early "50's" the population of Provo increased and irrigation canals brought the waters of Timpanogas River to the soil of the outlying farms and the city developed manufacturing with foundries, flouring, lumber, and carding mills.[62] In March 1851 a stake was organized at Provo.[63] In 1854 it was planned to enclose the city with a mud and stone wall but as the Indian menace decreased the labor ceased and the wall was left uncompleted. In 1852 Provo had grown to such an extent that it was divided into five wards.

Manti, the next center established, was located 130 miles south of Salt Lake City. As a result of the invitation sent to

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57. Thomas Bullock, Notes, MS, September 17, 1849, p. 19.
58. Brigham Young, Journal, 1849, Oct. 8, 1849, MS, pp. 145-146.
59. Journal History, March 25, 1850, MS.
60. J.M. Jensen, Early History of Provo, p. 61.
61. Ibid., p. 61.
62. Ibid., pp. 62-63.
63. "Fifth General Epistle of the Presidency," Millenial Star, XIII, p. 213.

Brigham Young by Chief Walker of the Utes to colonize the Sanpete region, he "sent messengers to Sand Pitch Valley, who selected a place for settlement, about 150 miles south of this and we expect that from 50 to 100 families will start for that place in a few days. They also discovered aplentiful supply of good rock, or mountain salt, towards the contemplated settlement."[64] In October 1849 Isaac Morley, who was chosen by Brigham Young as the leader of the prospective settlement left Great Salt Lake City with thirty men to form the colony at Manti.[65] As the party traveled towards their destination their numbers increased so that when they arrived on the Sandpitch there were one hundred and twenty-four men and one hundred women in the party.[66] That first winter the settlers endured difficulties. Isaac Morley wrote: "We commenced to make ourselves as comfortable as circumstances would permit, a few put up log houses, some pitched their tents, and others lived in wagons until now."[67] Because of the marauding Indians and because of the severity of the winter their losses were great. Out of two hundred and forty head of stock which these pioneers brought only one hundred and thirteen were living the next spring.[68] Lack of animals and the problem of irrigation made the raising of crops in 1850 very difficult. Nevertheless by May of that year these pioneers had sown 250 acres of wheat and

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64. Brigham Young, Journal, 1849, MS, pp. 145-146.
65. Ibid., 1849, Oct. 19, 1849, p. 159.
66. Letter Isaac Morley, March 15, 1849 to Brigham Young. MS.
67. Ibid.
68. W.H. Lever, History of Sanpete and Emery Counties, p. 14.

some oats, barley and potatoes in addition.[69] They did not begin the erection of a permanent fort until 1852 but in August 1850 President Young selected a site for the city of Manti and the engineer who accompanied him commenced surveying. A plot later made indicated 110 blocks laid out, each 26 rods square and 8 lots in a block and the streets were six rods wide.[70] President Young chose the location for a temple. A sawed log building 20 by 26 feet served as a meeting house, school and amusement hall. The rise of Manti as a permanent city dates from this visit of Brigham Young. He gave them the plan of their permanent center and when he returned to Salt Lake City in 1850, he praised Sanpete valley and the conference authorized Isaac Morley to select one hundred additional men.[71] President Young on this visit also observed other favorable lands for settlement near Manti.

January 13, 1851 the pioneers to the Little Salt Lake camped on Center creek in the vicinity where their colony was later planted. The day before many had desired to remain at Buck Horn Springs but George A. Smith addressing the company said:

"Brigham Young expected them to settle on Center Creek and the only thing that would induce him to look further for a location would be the lack of necessary facilities to answer our present location, and that he was of the opinion that the whole mission had better move on to the next creek and there remain till the necessary explorations could be made and that he would like a genteel corall made and the whole mission to be in their proper places."[72]

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69. Sanpete Stake Records, May 17, 1850.
70. Journal History, Aug. 5, 1850.
71. Deseret News I, 108, 1850.
72. John D. Lee, Journal, 1850-1852, Jan. 12, 1851,MS, p. 100.

At a meeting of the camp January 19, the following motions were carried:

"Shall we settle in a compact Fort, (Indians appearing friendly were in camp) with a corrall in the center for our cattle; when necessary unanimously agreed that we should.
2nd. Shall we build Public House for Public worship, council, schools and dancing, respond we shall .... Again shall we build this House survey the Fort, make the road in the Kanyons under our present organization, motioned by John D. Lee and Captain Whipple that we remain as we are until the Public work is completed that has been spoken of."[73]

The next day a committee was chosen which selected a site for the fort.[74] After the fort was surveyed and a diagram of it prepared, on the 22nd of January the lots were apportioned to the settlers by the leader.[75] Mr. Carruthers, one of the pioneers wrote:

"After looking out and selecting a location, we formed our waggons into two parallel lines, some seventy paces apart. We then took our boxes from the wheels, and planted them a couple of paces from each other, so securing ourselves that we could not easily be taken advantage of by any unknown foe. This done, we next cut a road up the kanyon, opening it to a distance of some eight miles, bridging the creek in some five or six places, making the timber and poles (of which there is an immense quantity) of easy access. We next built a large meeting house in the form of two triangles, lying transversely, two stories high, of large pine trees, all well hewn and neatly jointed together. We next built a large square fort, with a commodious cattle carrel inside the inclosure. The houses were built some of hewn logs, and some of adobies, all neat comfortable and convenient. We next inclosed a field some five by three miles square, with a good ditch and pole fence. We dug canals and water ditches to the distance of some thirty or forty miles. One canal to turn the water of another creek upon the field for irrigating purposes, was seven miles long. We built a saw and a grist mill in the spring."[76]

The farming lots, five acres in each, were to be used

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73. Ibid., Jan. 19, 1851, p. 147.
74. Ibid., Jan. 20, 1851, p. 153.
75. Ibid., January 22, 1851, p. 164.
76. "Letter Matthew Carruthers Iron County, Feb. 1853," Millenial Star, XV, 458.

for vines, potatoes and garden stuff.[77] These plots were distributed in the following manner: by ballot "each lot having been numbered previous on the stakes .... each man's name applying for a lot formed a ticket which tickets was thrown together in a hat and shook up together then drawn out one by one .... the first name drawn took the first lot (then to be drawn for) which was number 2, Pres. Smith having taken number 1."[78] It was then voted that "a dam should be thrown accross the Center creek and water be taken out for the use of the camp."[79] This was subsequently done.[80] On the 9th of February George A. Smith was acknowledged as President of the colony. This same day the leader dissolved the military organization which had been used for the journey and he announced that in the future, operations including supervision of the public works would be carried on under the direction of the Bishops in their wards.[81] This direction of economic affairs by the bishop was typical of any early Mormon community. George A. Smith described the Parowan fort as follows: "The plot (fort plot) is 56 rods square which is divided into 92 lots 2 rods wide and 4 rods each deep then a street 4 rods wide which separates the lots from the public corall which is in the center and contains 10 acres of ground."[82] This fort, while convenient for protection, was too crowded; and so several years

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77. John D. Lee, Journal, 1850-1852, Jan. 31, 1851, MS, p. 192.
78. Ibid., Feb. 2, 1851, p. 199.
79. Ibid., p. 199.
80. Ibid., Feb. 9, 1851, p. 209.
81. Ibid., pp. 213-214.
82. Letter from George A. Smith to Pres. B. Young from Louisa, (Parowan) Iron County, State of Deseret, Jan.28,1851,MS.

later a mud wall was built around the town of Parowan giving the people adequate space for gardens.[83] Parowan, so carefully explored and settled, became the agricultural base for the development of the iron country. These settlers worked cooperatively in the first years to bring their irrigation water to their fields and to build their church. Referring to this the Clerk of the company wrote: "About 26 teams went to haul logs for the meeting house while others worked on the foundation, hauling and laying rocks etc."[84]

Fillmore, the early capital of Utah, was settled by seventeen families in 1851. Regarding the causes for its formation Brigham Young wrote:

> "It is desirable to accomplish the work at Fillmore, to meet the wishes and convenience of the people, who expect a fair division of time and travel, by concentrating public business at a more central point. That Fillmore City is destined to become that point in population, as well as geographically, the direction which the almost entire emigration of the present season has taken, abundantly proved."[85]

This colony was virtually in the geographical center of the Territory of Utah which was created by the Compromise of 1850 and which included the present limits of Utah north and south but east and west extended from the Rocky Mountains to the Sierra Nevadas. The site was selected by Brigham Young but the settlement was formed under the direction of Anson Call who described the preliminaries of colonization as follows:

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83. William Adams, History of William Adams, MS.
84. Henry Lunt Journal (Copied by W.C. Mitchell), p. 10.
85. "Message of Governor Brigham Young, Great Salt Lake City, Dec. 13, 1852," Millenial Star, XV, 419.

"Myself and the camp are well at present. We have had an addition of three to our camp since you left; we have built a caralle according to your instructions, inclosing about two and a half acres of ground. We found upon trial, that the ground was so dry and hard, being also Rocki, that it was next to an impossibility to stockade or picket in our houses with the tools we had to work with so we have built our houses in close order having no doors or windows upon the outside. The camp have become well satisfied with our location. The farming land upon examination, is better than we have anticipated at first, we have found an abundance of excellent Timber within five or six miles of our camp. We have a good wagon Road worked to the timber, at cost of about one hundred and fifty days work. We have organized a mill company and commence operations forthwith; we have a good mill Right already to work. We calculate to set our sawmill about one half mile above our fort which [sawmill] we calculate to have running before seed time if we meet with no disappointment in getting the Irons. I have no doubt but we shall be able to furnish the lumber for the State House [for State of Deseret] of as good quality as can be furnished elsewhere. We should like a little more company if any should feel disposed to come."[86]

The first houses were built of logs with dirt roofs. As in the case of the other settlements Brigham Young visited Fillmore shortly after its foundation to select the site for the permanent town and to see that it was properly laid out by the territorial surveyor. In 1855 Fillmore contained a hundred families numbering five hundred persons and by that date a fort was erected one-fourth of a mile square and ten feet high and twenty inches thick formed of pickets and adobes. The plan of the city then provided 24 blocks with a total of 200 lots each lot to contain one and a quarter acres.[87] By 1855 a commodious church was built.[88]

The settlement of San Bernardino, founded in 1851, in

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86. Letter Anson Call, Fillmore, November 24, 1851, to President Brigham Young, MS.
87. Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 1854-1859, May 5, 1855, MS.
88. Ibid.

the Cajon Pass in southern California, was the Mormon outpost fronting on the Pacific though it was some few miles distant from the ocean. This area was formerly known as the Williams Ranch and was purchased for colonization at a cost approaching one hundred thousand dollars. Concerning it Brigham Young wrote:

"Elders Amasa M. Lyman and C. C. Rich with some twenty others, having received my approbation in going to southern California, they were instructed by letter to select a site for a city or station as a nucleus for a settlement, near the Cajon Pass, in the vicinity of the seacoast, for a continuation of the route already commenced from this (Salt Lake City) to the Pacific; to gather around them the Saints in California, to search out, on their route, and establish, as far as possible, the best locations for stations between Iron county and California, in view of a mail route to the Pacific, to cultivate the olive and manufacture olive oil, and to cultivate grapes, sugar cane, cotton and any other desirable fruits and products; to obtain information concerning the Tehuantepee route, or any other across the Isthmus, or the passage around Cape Horn, with a view to the gathering of the Saints from Europe."[89]

Furthermore it was hoped that in this favorable climate the converts from the Pacific Islands, including Australia, could be gathered, given land and made self sustaining. From the frequent letters written by him and the willingness to spend a large sum to purchase the site, Brigham Young must have entertained high hopes concerning the prospects of this settlement within sight of the Pacific Ocean.

On March 23, 1851 the San Bernardino company had grown to more than five hundred persons. It was then organized by Brigham Young at Payson on the shores of Utah Lake[90] and

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89. Brigham Young, Journal, 1851, March 20, 1851, MS, p. 13.
90. Ibid., March 20-23, pp. 13-14.

started its long journey to its distant homeland. The migration was uneventful since the company was well organized and sufficiently large to discourage any attack by the Indians. The valley where the settlement was founded was fifty miles in length and from five to twenty miles in width with two fairly large rivers running through it.[91] The settlers arrived in San Bernardino in June 1851. The soil of this hundred thousand acre ranch was rich and the water abundant.[92] By December 1851 one hundred houses had been completed and a stockade fort built for protection from the Indians.[93] By the end of the year a field of two thousand acres was surveyed.[94] Six months later a large adobe building, sixty feet by thirty was completed for the use of religious services.[95] In March the survey of the city was begun. A California traveler in 1855 described San Bernardino as a place "built in orthodox Mormon fashion, with detached houses and rectangular streets."[96] This settlement lasted until 1858 when it was discontinued.

Brigham City was formed somewhat differently from the settlements mentioned hitherto. In 1850 several families settled on Box Elder Creek about twenty miles north of Ogden. In 1851 other families joined the first comers and a fort was built since five hundred Indians were in this region and it

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91. Millenial Star, XIII, (1851), p. 107.
92. "Letter C.C. Rich and A. Lyman, San Bernardino Dec. 19, 1851 to F.D. Richards, Liverpool," Millenial Star, XIV, p. 85, (1852).
93. Ibid., p. 76.
94. Ibid., p. 491.
95. Ibid., p. 491.
96. W. Chandless, Visit to Salt Lake, p. 303.

was feared war would ensue. This was known as the Old Fort. In 1851 the country was surveyed as a part of Weber County and in the spring of 1852 the settlers who no longer feared the Indians left the fort and began work on their farms nearby,[97] which contained from forty to eighty acres for each man. In 1853 the Indians again became threatening, and these settlers acting upon instructions received from Brigham Young built a second fort which was about three hundred by two hundred yards in extent. After its completion a number of Welsh families came to join the small colony on the Box Elder. According to the report of Bishop Davis, in charge of this settlement, there were two hundred and four persons living in and around this small fort.[98] Up to 1854 little progress had been made in this vicinity. The colonists had not been sent as an organized company under the direction of Brigham Young but had drifted to this location, a few at a time. Their log houses had dirt floors and the roofs were covered with willows and sod.[99] The people had a difficult time in the raising of crops often subsisting on the sego lily and other wild roots.

The year 1854 marked the transformation of this small colony. In the autumn Lorenzo Snow, one of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, and a group of fifty families were sent to reinforce these settlers. Lorenzo Snow, was a great organizer

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97. E. Tullidge, History of Utah, II, 291.
98. Box Elder Stake Records, Brigham City.
99. E. Tullidge, History of Utah, II, 292.

and the fact that one so prominent in ecclesiastical affairs was chosen to take charge of the colony indicated the importance which Brigham Young attached to this northern outpost. From 1854 on it became a nucleus for receiving settlers and sending them out to form other colonies. Snow's vigorous leadership united the people and stimulated the settlers to more fruitful efforts, better houses were built, irrigation projects were improved by cooperation, and excellent crops were raised.

Wellsville, in Cache Valley, was established in a somewhat different fashion. Peter Maughan, its founder, had lived previously in Tooele, west of Salt Lake. Because of several dry seasons he became dissatisfied and traveled to Salt Lake to report his condition to the leader. Peter Maughan wrote: "On the 21st of July 1856 I was sent by President Brigham Young to pick out a location for a settlement .... made choice of the south end of the valley for our location."[100] After choosing a satisfactory site, he returned and made his report to the President. He then disposed of his possessions in Tooele and left that place the last of August 1856 to found Wellsville. Brigham Young stated that all who wanted to go with Peter Maughan might do so.[101] In the party there were eight men and several women and children who were immigrants from the British Isles. The 15th of September they arrived in the valley where

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100. Ibid., p. 348.
101. Mary Ann Maughan, Journal, MS.

they soon formed their colony. Since Cache Valley was a favorite hunting ground for the Shoshone Indians, the settlers immediately placed their wagons in the shape of a fort for protection. That same year, 1856, they began to erect a fort which they completed the following year. It was, however, nothing more than a group of log cabins and corrals surrounded by a pole fence. The result was the loss of some cattle to the Indians but no loss of life. Brigham Young sent a letter to Peter Maughan warning him to make adequate protection against the ravages of hostile redmen. This little outpose was temporarily abandoned in the spring of 1858 and reoccupied the same year and completely settled again in 1859. With the lurking danger of the Indians in mind Brigham Young wrote:

"We advise you to have the brethren settle so that all may be able to avail themselves of the fine range and hay land of that region but sufficient numbers together to be safe. Each settlement should by all means make a good strong fort to include all the inhabitants thereof, and large enough to store all their grain therein, with strong corrals adjoining, to secure all the stock in case of trouble with the Indians. Your stock yeards should be located at sufficient distances from your forts so as not to endanger them in case of fire. If you build mills, let it be so arranged as to bring them inside of some fort so that they may be protected in case of trouble; and in all things endeavor to take a course that will enable you to maintain and preserve yourselves in that isolated region, realizing that you will be obliged in a great measure, under the prudence of God, to depend upon your own exertions in time of trouble."[102]

In 1859 Ezra T. Benson and others of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles came to Cache Valley to organize Wellsville and

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102. Letter Brigham Young to Peter Maughan, Salt Lake City, Jan. 23, 1859, MS.

the settlements which had formed near it into a stake. Peter Maughan was made Presiding Bishop and was advised to go ten miles northeast to Logan a more central location and in 1861 he moved to that place. From that time Logan became the important center for the colonizing of the northern country and Wellsville was forced to accept second place.

Thus by 1858 Brigham Young had designed and established his outposts to hold his "inland empire." Events were happening however which modified his plans and limited the commonwealth. In 1857 a United States army was dispatched to Utah to aid the newly appointed governor, Alfred Cumming, as "a posse comitatus in case of need in the execution of laws."[103] President Buchanan stated that Brigham Young was absolute over both church and state in Utah and he feared that the Mormon leader would resist Governor Cumming in his assumption of executive power.[104] To the Mormon people and their leader, however, the prospect of the coming of the army was serious. They believed that conquering the arid regions and establishing civilization entitled them to their own leader as governor. Moreover they believed that they had violated neither the constitution nor the laws of the country. Furthermore to these settlers who had been driven from the confines of the states of the Union, it appeared that now their enemies had reached the ear of the

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103. James Buchanan, "First Annual Message," J.D. Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents, V, 455.
104. Ibid., V, 454.

President of the United States and that the troops were on their way to drive them from their homes or to exterminate them. The Mormon leader was in a quandary. Should his people leave their homes and withdraw to some kindlier region, should they fight or should they wait to see what the coming of the army meant? Apparently all three of these questions were seriously considered by Brigham Young. Providing the army proved hostile and evacuation of the towns necessary, the settlers were to move out west into the desert lands,[105] or occupy the higher valleys where they would not be molested.[106] Finally if these alternatives failed, as Brigham Young wrote: "we have our eyes on the Russian possessions."[107] As the troops moved westward he believed that they would probably avoid the readily fortified passes in the mountains from Fort Bridger southwest to Salt Lake valley and come by the easier entrance from Fort Hall to the north. As a means of defence he ordered the concentration of the Mormon people. Consequently in the spring of 1858 he sent instructions for the abandonment of all settlements north of Salt Lake City and south and west of Parowan.[108] These settlers were to gather in the limited area south of Salt Lake City to await developments. A large military force of Mormon cavalry and infantry worked effectively between Echo

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105. Brigham Young, Letter Book, IV, March 15, 1858, MS, p. 96. "Brigham Young Letter to George W. Bean," Brigham Young Letter Book, IV, April 28, 1858, p. 139.
106. "Letter Brigham Young, March 10, 1852 to Bishop W.G. Young," Letter Book, IV, 87.
107. Brigham Young, Letter Book, MS, IV, 76.
108. Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 1854-1859, Mar. 21, 1858, MS.

Canyon and Fort Bridger to harass the army, to drive off the cattle and burn the supply trains but not to fire upon the United States soldiers.

Fortunately through the intercession of Colonel Thomas L. Kane of Pennsylvania, a political associate of President Buchanan's and also a friend of the Utah settlers, and through the willingness of Governor Cumming to enter the valley and hold a parley unaccompanied by the army, the Utah war as a serious encounter was avoided and the troops peacefully entered the valley without interruption. The coming of the army however altered the plans for settlement which Brigham Young had in mind. The San Bernardino colony in California was abandoned and the land sold. Colonization could no longer follow that course. Furthermore there were many non Mormon people in southern California and according to past experiences amicable relations would not be likely to continue there. The settlement in Carson Valley in western Nevada was also evacuated. Now in 1859 mines were discovered there and the country could not be reoccupied by the Mormons. Furthermore the resources in the hands of Brigham Young were not inexhaustible. He now turned,in 1858, to the task of reoccupying the northern centers, Ogden, Brigham City, and Wellsville. The outposts from Salt Lake to Parowan had not been abandoned but strengthened due to the influx of refugees from the deserted communities. All the centers were reoccupied and strengthened save the San Bernardino and Carson Valley colonies.

After the evacuation of the California and Nevada colonies, Brigham Young turned his attention to the Virgen and Colorado River regions. Even in 1851 when the settlement of Parowan was founded some of the pioneers explored the southern country looking for lands for homes. Finally in 1852 John D. Lee and a small company of men made a colony on Ash Creek and built a fort.[109] In the winter of 1854-1855 a party of Mormon missionaries camped on the Santa Clara River near the site of St. George and established a settlement.[110] They farmed in addition to preaching to the Indians. One of these missionaries returning to Parowan secured a quart of cotton seed which was planted at the Indians mission and yielded enough cotton to produce thirty yards of cloth.[111]

The early explorations, these experiments in colonization by the missionaries, and the successful production of cotton directed the attention of Brigham Young towards the Virgen River region as a substitute for the lost San Bernardino to produce the semi-tropical products needed by the Mormon settlers. In 1856 George A. Smith, the founder of the Parowan settlement and the leader of colonization of the southern country, visited the Indian mission and advised the building of a fort which was completed in 1856. Additional missionaries were sent by Brigham Young. In January 1858 he dispatched a

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109. Deseret News, Dec. 8, 1852.
110. J.G. Bleak, Annals of the Southern Missions, Book A, MS, pp. 30-31.
111. Ibid., p. 31.

small party of men to the Virgen River to establish a cotton farm.[112] When they returned with their crops in the winter to Salt Lake City they brought 575 pounds of ginned cotton with them.[113] In 1858 a small settlement at Toquerville was established a few miles east of the cotton farm. In 1859 Brigham Young visited the people on the Virgen and there visualized the prospective center of St. George[114] which was to be his center for the settlement of the southern country.

The outbreak of the Civil War limited the cotton supply in Utah. Furthermore the Indian mission and the cotton farm of Washington were proofs that this staple could be grown. Consequently in the October Conference in Salt Lake City in 1861, three hundred and nine people were "called" by Brigham Young to settle southern Utah in the vicinity of the Virgen.[115] This expedition which was to develop the semi-tropical products needed was led by two of the Apostles, Erastus Snow and Orson Pratt. George A. Smith gave a description of how the colonists were collected as follows:

"The prospect of raising a mission for the production of cotton and other southern necessaries is quite satisfactory; about 200 names have been called in this county [Salt Lake]. It is producing no small excitement in this city as the call embraces the rich as well as the poor. A few rich men who have been named feel to struggle with their possessions and will probably leave their hearts here while their bodies are there; but as a general thing the mission is received in the right spirit. From 30 to 40 families will go from Sanpete, 50 from Utah, and 200 from this valley; of this number you may

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112. Ibid., p. 58.
113. Ibid., p. 59.
114. Ibid., p. 76.
115. Ibid., pp. 87-98.

reasonably expect 200 men to be on hand this fall."[116]

The forbidding nature of the country did not arouse great enthusiasm for volunteering as a method of forming settlement there, for President Young "called for volunteers to go to Washington county .... as the brethren did not choose to volunteer for this mission, the Presidency and Twelve would make the selections and they would expect the brethren to go and stay until they are released."[117] The selections of men were carefully made for Brigham Young wrote to Orson Hyde, the leader of Sanpete settlements, as follows:

"You are hereby requested to raise and organize in the country of SanPete thirty or fifty families for this mission. Send good and judicious men, having reference in your selection to the necessities of a new colony, and including a sufficient number of mechanics, such as coopers, blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, plasterers, joiners, etc., if you have them that you can spare without robbing your settlements--it is desirable that they can be on the road at the earliest possible date, as it will be much more pleasant traveling before winter sets in."[118]

To the colonizers of Saint George Brigham Young sent the following instructions:

"In selecting a location for a city there are a few requisites to which we desire to call your attention. First and most important is a good central position that shall naturally form a point(?) and a local Head Quarters for all the settlements upon the Santa Clara, and Rio Virgen (upper and lower) such a locality we think may be found at or near the junction of those Rivers. Great care should be exercised in locating upon high ground, with dry gravelly soil a good distance from the river bottoms, and consequently free from

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116. "Letter George A. Smith, Great Salt Lake City, Oct. 16, 1861 to Jacobin Hamblin," Journal History Oct. 16, 1861, p. 1.
117. Brigham Young, Journal, 1861, MS, pp. 440-441.
118. Letter Brigham Young, Great Salt Lake City, October 13, 1861 to Orson Hyde, Springtown, MS.

the unpleasant and unhealthy miasma usually arising from bottom lands in warm climates. The next consideration will be the obtaining of a supply of good pure water for domestic purposes, this may be accomplished by conducting water from springs many of which you will probably find at no great distance, and by the digging of wells; but no reference should be had to the procuring of water sufficient for mills or manufacturing purposes, all such establishments should be located on the streams as convenient to the settlement as proper sites can be found. The above essentials procured, you will next look around for building materials, good stone, and good timber, and when found open practicable roads to them, so that they may be easy of access to all. We wish to caution you against sleeping out upon your farms, which will [be] necessarily located on the bottom lands and may be some distance from your houses, you had far better travel a little distance to sleep, than to expose your health by sleeping on those damp bottoms .... We repeat the suggestions that the Brethren undertake the cultivation of such small tracts of land as they are able to cultivate to advantage, having in view, first the culture of cotton as the most important staple adapted to that climate, and the one most needed by the people of Utah at the present time."[119]

This southern center was founded to open the way in 1861 for the settlement of the country thereabouts and Brigham Young was much concerned with the outcome of the experiment. If successful the trail was opened down to the Little Colorado and Gila as places for settlement to replace the loss of Southern California. Then too, if this colony were successfully founded a road, which would lead to a possible water route for immigration and commerce, might be built from Saint George to the Colorado River below the Grand Canyon.

The journey to Saint George was accomplished without major difficulties. To Parowan the country was dotted with settlements at frequent enough places to aid the travelers.

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119. "Brigham Young Letter Great Salt Lake City, December 10, 1861, to Elders Orson Pratt, Erastus Snow, and the Brethren of the Southern Mission," Brigham Young Letter Book, 1861-1864, MS, pp. 602.

South of Cedar City work had to be done upon the roads and the task of taking the wagons down over the ridge from an altitude of five thousand feet to less than three thousand required arduous labor.

When the pioneers reached the Virgen River, they were confronted by the problem of selecting a place for a city. Orson Pratt, one of the leaders, favored going up the Virgen but the main body followed Erastus Snow to the site of Saint George. Here early in December 1861, as the clerk of the southern mission recorded, "Elder Snow invited the brethren to express their minds relative to the propriety of building a central city in this vicinity for this lower valley .... (a number expressed satisfaction) .... Resolved that a committee be appointed to ascertain the best point to take out the Rio Virgen for irrigation purposes .... Resolved that a committee of three be appointed to choose a site for St. George."[120] (Erastus Snowwas one of the committee). The reports of these committees were later accepted by the camp which voted that it would "work unitedly under President Erastus Snow."[121]

The planting of Saint George was also different in some respects from the founding of the other centers. The large number of settlers in Saint George and the weakness of the Paiute Indians who were unable to resist them made it unnecessary for the colonists to build a fort. "Saint George site

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120. J.G. Bleak, Annals of the Southern Mission, Book A, MS, p. 104.
121. Ibid., p. 107.

was surveyed and the city was laid out in Blocks, 32 rods square, each containing 8 lots. The streets 90 feet wide including 12 feet side walks. Thirty-six blocks were in this Plot of which one was set apart as a Public Square. [There were] In all two hundred and fifty-six lots 8 by 16 rods. Three of these lots were reserved for school purposes."[122]

After the town lots had been given to the settlers of St. George, the next problem was the division of the agricultural land. Because of the excessive labor necessary to provide irrigation water and because of the large number of people and the limited area of agricultural land, the allotments of farm lands were small in size varying from half an acre to five acres,[123] the average being two and one-half acres.[124] The cost of water was twenty dollars per acre.

The majority of the early houses built were of adobe, and, a little later, some more pretentious dwellings of stone were constructed. The people were in Saint George only a few months when they prepared to erect a school house of stone.[125] By April 1862 a sawmill was in operation. There were 748 persons in this southern mission and they brought with them 209 wagons, 121 horses, 34 mules, 569 oxen, 340 cows, 345 young stock, 677 sheep, 32 pigs, 92 plows and 33 harrows.[126]

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122. Ibid., p. 123.
123. Ibid., p. 121.
124. "Letter Erastus Snow St. George March 10, 1862 to Brigham Young," J.G. Bleak, Annals of the Southern Mission Book A, MS, p. 131.
125. Brigham Young, Journal 1862, Feb. 10, 1862, MS, p. 332.
126. J.G. Bleak, Annals of the Southern Mission, Book A, MS, p. 117.

In 1876 Brigham Young, further to mature his plans to settle the southern country, sent four companies of fifty men each with their families to found settlements on the Little Colorado River in eastern central Arizona. Though several unsuccessful attempts to settle Arizona failed prior to 1876, Brigham Young was determined to found centers in Arizona from which he might extend settlement down into Mexico. The four companies were organized under the leadership of Lot Smith, Jesse O. Ballenger, George Lake and William C. Allen. Men were called and others volunteered to form these pioneer companies. One method of recruiting men is shown in a letter from Brigham Young to James O. Brown which reads as follows:

"Brother Brown is also authorized to receive the names of those who are willing or desirous of helping to build up the Kingdom of God in that region. We learn that the brethren are discovering new and desirable valleys in the neighborhood of their present settlements, and elsewhere, and it is our intention to keep pushing out and onward as fast as prudence and the whisperings of the Spirit of the Lord shall dictate.

"We desire the active co-operation of our brethren in this important work, and shall be pleased to receive a goodly list of volunteers through Brother Brown, consisting of men who love the Gospel, have faith in the promise of the Father, and have the integrity, determination and zeal of true Latter Day Saints. We have no fear that too many will respond to this invitation, as the rich valleys south and east of the Colorado offer homes for hundreds of those who desire to extend the curtains of Zion in that direction.

"We are informed that some of the brethren entertain the idea that it is better to be called by the authorities to such missions than to volunteer. To such we quote the saying of the Lord to the Prophet Joseph Smith, as contained in the Doctrine and Covenants, 'He that waited to be commanded in all things is a slothful servant.'"[127]

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127. "Letter Brigham Young, September 16, 1876 to James Brown," James S. Brown, Life of a Pioneer, (Autobiography), 466.

The settlers came from Salt Lake, Davis, Morgan, Box Elder, Cache, and Weber Counties. The regions which the settlers were asked to leave were the richest in soils and the best location in Utah, and it was a real proof of obedience to Brigham Young and of his domination of his people that there was a ready response to the request of the leader who now in the twilight of his life was sending companies to bring about the materialization of his plan of settlement.

They met at Kanab in Southern Utah where they were thoroughly organized for the journey over the desert areas to the Colorado and beyond. The vanguard arrived on the Sunset Crossing of the Little Colorado March 23, 1876. Three miles north Lot Smith's company formed the town of Sunset. Nearby Allen's company built the settlement of Saint Joseph, while across the river three miles southwest, Lake's company founded Obed. Southwest of the Sunset Crossing, Ballenger's followers built the village of Winslow.[128] These four outposts on the southern frontier which were to serve as nucleii for the extension of settlements, were built through cooperative efforts. Together the people built stockades for protection, built their houses within these walls, together they dammed the Little Colorado, built irrigation canals to bring water to their fields and together they raised crops and built educational institutions and houses of worship. This was the last of the

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128. J.H. McClintock, Mormon Settlement in Arizona, pp. 139-140.

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128. J.H. McClintock, Mormon Settlement in Arizona, pp. 139-140.

centers established by Brigham Young for in 1877 he died leaving the development of his plans in others' hands.

The inland area was settled under the direction of Brigham Young by the willing cooperation of his followers. This region was very extensive, itincluded the Mexican Cession with the exception of central and northern California, and its greatest length north and south was approximately seven hundred miles and its width east and west was somewhat more than seven hundred. First - the leader sent out explorers instructing them to select sites where the key settlements or centers, necessary to hold possession of the extensive territory were to be built. Then Brigham Young prepared for the colonization of the particular centers which he thought were essential to mature his plan. He selected leaders, called settlers, formed them into efficient organizations, instructed them and sent them forth to found outposts in the Indian country. These colonists, after careful preparations, because of their willingness to obey Brigham Young went forth and built houses, made irrigation canals and cultivated farms so that the "Kingdom of God" of their leader should become a reality. The formation of these settlements was quite different in method from those founded by non-Mormons in the Middle West where either individuals were attracted by the cheap lands of the West or where a small community moved West in a body. The settlement of the Middle West was effected largely by individual effort, the colonization of the Intermountain West by the Mormon was accomplished

mainly through cooperation under the direction of a leader whose authority was supreme over his people. In 1877 that which Brigham Young had visualized in 1847 had been accomplished - the stakes of his empire had been driven - the centers of colonization had been founded.

CHAPTER V

THE EVOLUTION OF SETTLEMENT BETWEEN THE CENTERS

Settling the country between the established centers was the next task confronting the pioneers. The leaders of these outposts sent exploring expeditions into the unknown regions. Following the reports concerning the water, soil, timber, and grazing facilities, people were stimulated to seek the unoccupied valleys. Small and detached groups desiring solitude and adventure drifted into the distant lands, some who were home seekers rushed to the fertile valleys attracted by rich soils and abundant water, while others were organized into companies who followed obediently the wishes of the leader of the center and founded towns in the regions he wished settled. These colonies passed through various stages of development. First there was a group of rude cabins, shanties or dugouts with dirt roofs, built close together for protection; later, when the sawmills produced some lumber, shingle roofs, doors and windows were added to these cabins, and finally, frame, rock, and brick houses beautified with lawns, shrubbery and flowers completed the transformation of these pioneer villages into attractive towns and cities.

Several factors contributed to the filling in between the centers. The scarcity of Mormon settlers made it impossible at first to explore all the outlying valleys. Because of lack of knowledge of the country beyond, the Mormon immigrants tarried in the more populous places until the glowing reports

of rich lands and streams of water tempted them to seek new homes. Then too, when, in the "50's", thousands of immigrants came to the territory, many of whom were best fitted to live in the larger cities where specialized industry would bring their services into demand, some of the older settlers of the different centers were forced to move out to make room for the newcomers who were unfitted for the frontier. The streams in the vicinity of the settlements were taxed beyond their capacity and the increasing population had to go where the necessary moisture was available for the raising of crops. The need for water scattered the Mormons over a large territory and filled the numerous valleys. After the settlers had taken the best land in the centers only the poorer was left. As this was often barren or highly impregnated with salt, which made it more or less worthless for agriculture, the lure of green valleys led the newcomers to seek farms on the frontier. Further, the number of cattle which the settlers possessed depleted the ranges in the older communities and if men expected to prosper with their flocks it was imperative that they move to new regions with promising grazing lands. Besides these causes which operated in favor of expansion, there was also the frontier spirit which caused men to seek uncrowded places.

The region north of Salt Lake Valley first attracted the attention of the Pioneers. As the result of the migration of Parley P. Pratt's company in the fall of 1847, the limited pasturage near the fort was exhausted. Perregrine Sessions,

one of the newcomers, went about ten miles north where he found a satisfactory range for three hundred cattle and horses of the settlers.[1] Hector C. Haight followed his example and took the stock of the colonists north to the sites of Farmington and Kaysville where high grasses attracted his attention.[2] These men spent the winter of 1847-1848 in this area and saw the agricultural possibilities of the land. They reported the richness of the soil and the grazing conditions to the pioneers in Salt Lake.[3] From the spring of 1848 to 1850, small groups of people traveled north to join these men, who lived permanently on their cattle ranges, and to settle on the banks of other creeks and springs in the area extending twenty miles north of the fort in the valley. On account of the need of range land in Salt Lake, these colonists were given permission by Brigham Young to locate on these different streams.[4] In this manner, the small villages of Bountiful, Centerville, Farmington and Kaysville were founded on the banks of the various creeks which flowed from the Wasatch mountains. In these first years, these small towns were formed into icclesiastical wards, over each a bishop, chosen by Brigham Young and ratified by the people, presided over the religious and material affairs of the little colony. The settlements were thus brought

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1. Davis Stake Records, Bountiful.
   E. Tullidge, History of Utah, II, 56.
2. Davis Stake Records, Farmington.
   Sketch of Life of William V. Haight, MS, p. 2.
3. Addison Pratt, Journal, September 28, 1848, Journal History, September 28, 1848, p. 22.
4. D.A. Miller, Journal, MS, p. 10.

under control of Brigham Young who sent additional families to locate beside the pioneers. These villages did not all take the same form in the early years. The houses of the Bountiful folk were close together forming a fort, while the Kaysville colonists scattered, utilizing the many springs in that vicinity. The first settlers built clumsy log cabins with dirt roofs for shelter and proceeded to till the soil. Time was needed for cultivation of the land, the planting and harvesting of crops, and the construction of canals and ditches for irrigation. In 1855 these settlements had increased materially. George A. Smith and Ezra T. Benson described Bountiful that year as follows:

"The city plot is surveyed 200 rods by 97, and 416 rods of earth wall have been built 6 feet high and 6 feet thick. About 30 houses have been erected within the limits of the wall. The ward is divided into two school districts, and two adobie school houses have been built; the north one 30 feet by 20, the south 26 by 20, and both are well finished .... The ward contains about 150 families who raised 20,000 bushels of wheat last year."[5]

In 1860 since there were a number of saw mills in these Davis County towns, progress in building was quite rapid. The Deseret News printed,

"New houses and barns have been built or are in the process of erection and additions and emendations are being made to others, evincing a taste for comfort and convenience not universally manifested by the inhabitants of a new country."[6]

As Ogden increased in size small bands of colonists,

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5. "Letter George A. Smith and Ezra T. Benson to Editor, Deseret News, February 27, 1855," Deseret News, V, 6.
6. Deseret News, X, 116, June 13, 1860.

interested in agriculture and cattle raising, moved to the streams in that vicinity. In 1851 twenty families camped on the banks of a small creek six miles north of Ogden where they founded North Ogden. Here they built log houses with split log roofs covered with dirt and straw. In 1854 they built a saw mill. These people practiced agriculture and fruit raising. They remained a small colony since the land and water were limited and as they were overshadowed by the growing city six miles south. On the streams around Ogden, other settlements were formed and in 1851 these colonies were included with Ogden to form the Weber Stake with Lorin Farr as president.[7] Subsequently the peopling of the region was under his direction.

There were a number of people who were not satisfied with the limited farms and restricted ranges in the vicinity of Ogden. They were willing to go farther north on the frontier for greater opportunities. Thus in 1851 several families left Ogden with their belongings and traveled sixteen miles north where they founded Willard on the banks of a canyon creek. Here they built their cabins and each family acquired a farm of seventy-five acres. The grasses near the lake and the grazing lands on the foothills and nearby canyons afforded luxuriant pasturage for their horses and cattle. With the settlement of Willard the richest land on the banks of the large streams had been occupied by the pioneers and since the

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7. E. Tullidge, History of Utah, II, 290.

smaller creeks did not afford sufficient land to maintain a group large enough for protection from the Indians those who came afterwards either shared the farms of the first settlers or planted their crops on the poorer lands.

The rich lands to the south, in the fertile Utah Lake Valley attracted the pioneers as soon as the early Indian raids on Fort Utah subsided. In the years 1850 and 1851, small settlements were formed on the banks of the principal streams which flowed from the mountains to the Utah Lake. The pioneers in this valley looked for good lands for farming and attractive ranges for cattle.[8] North of Provo the small villages of Lehi, American Fork and Pleasant Grove were founded in 1850. Small groups of settlers camped on the banks of the creeks, erected cabins and planted their crops. Sometimes forts were built at once for protection as was the case in Pleasant Grove where Indians were present and menacing, while other settlements waited until the outbreak of an Indian war. American Fork did not build a fort until the Walker War in 1853. South of Provo, in the Indian country the land was inviting but the red men were menacing.

Thus different methods were used in the forming of colonies. Instead of people drifting to the grass lands as was the case north of Fort Utah, the region south was settled by organized companies for the most part. For example O. B. Huntington viewed the country to the south during an expedition

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8. Utah Stake Records, American Fork, Pleasant Grove.

with trappers, while William Miller, the first permanent settler of Springville first saw that site when on an expedition against the Indians.[9] Attracted by the land, these frontiersmen told Brigham Young they wanted to live on Hobble Creek; and the Mormon leader agreed to the plan providing additional settlers to be sent when they arrived from the East.[10] When Aaron Johnson's company of immigrants arrived in Salt Lake City in the autumn of 1850 President Young selected the first eight families to follow Aaron Johnson to settle on Hobble Creek where they were instructed to build a fort.[11] On the 18th of September 1850 this group arrived at its destination and began the work of settling which in this case included the harvesting of wild hay from the luxuriant grasses in the vicinity and building their houses in the form of a fort. These crude log cabins with dirt roofs enclosed a square of one and a half acres of land, the rear of the cabins forming the walls of the fort.[12] In case of attack the cattle were driven inside the enclosure. The same year, south of Springville, a small settlement was formed on Peteetenet Creek and called Payson. Receiving advice from Brigham Young, an emigrant train in which there were ten or fifteen men, women and children drove their ox teams from Salt Lake City south past Fort Utah to found this colony.[13] That winter they built a fort which was adequate to give them protection against the

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9. D.C. Johnson, A Brief History of Springville, p. 1.
10. Ibid., p. 2.
11. Ibid., p. 3.
12. Ibid., p. 7.
13. Utah Stake Records, Payson.

Indians.

South and West beyond Payson two other settlements were formed by methods different from the above. Santaquin was founded by Benjamin F. Johnson who accompanied Brigham Young on an expedition in 1851 for purposes of exploring the Sevier River region and visiting Iron County. On their way they camped in a delightful place where the charm of wild flowers, green grasses, singing birds and beautiful trees caused Mr. Johnson to refer to the site "as a place of beauty akin to Paradise."[14] The more practical-minded Brigham Young then asked Mr. Johnson if he would like to found a colony there.[15] Mr. Johnson realized that he had said too much since he had the prospects of an excellent business in Salt Lake City but he wished to follow the desires of the leader so he said that he would settle the place if Brigham Young wished him to do so.[16] Then the President authorized him to select the men he wished to go with him, but Johnson found it difficult to secure the men he wanted as they did not regard this request as a call from the leader.[17] He was however, able to finally convince a small number of men, and they began settlement in the late autumn of 1851. Several cabins were built before winter and the following spring sixty acres of wheat were planted.[18] South of Santaquin a colony was formed in 1851 on Salt Creek just within Juab County and called Nephi. The

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14. B.F. Johnson, Life Review, MS, p. 129.
15. Ibid., p. 129.
16. Ibid., p. 129.
17. Ibid., p. 131.
18. Ibid., p. 132.

founder, Mr. Heywood described the method of forming it as follows: "I was sent to this place by men whom I respect .... I was appointed in June '51' to form a settlement here. I was told not to draft men but to pick up volunteers."[19] Subsequently he gathered twenty families and began the erection of the town and in the fall of 1851 the first survey of Nephi was made.[20] These permanent settlers built well. Mr. Heywood wrote in 1851,

> "About 12 houses have been erected; viz 3 built of adobies, two of willows plastered inside and out, 1 two story house built of 4 inch planks, and the balance of logs obtained from a distance of about ten miles. Our roofs and flooring are principally of lumber cut at Hamilton and Potter's mills, San Pete valley distant about 30 miles from Nephi."[21]

Thus by 1851 there was a string of small settlements built upon the banks of the streams flowing into Utah Lake from Lehi on the North to Nephi on the south on both sides of their center, Provo. In these first two or three years they remained small colonies adding however enough population to make them secure in the attacks by the Indians in Walker's War in 1853.

There were many factors at work to transform these pioneer communities. Brigham Young saw the fertility of the soil and the importance of the streams of water. So this whole

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19. Minutes of Meeting at Nephi to investigate conduct of Bishop Heywood, written by W. Woodruff and T. Bullock, May 25, 1854, MS.
20. "Letter J.L. Heywood to Editor Deseret News, Nephi, Sept. 30, 1850," Deseret News, III, Dec. 11, 1853.
21. "Letter J.L. Heywood to Editor Deseret News," Deseret News, Dec. 13, 1851, II, 11.

Utah County area was united by its formation as a stake in March 1851 with Provo as the headquarters. Also in 1852, Apostle George A. Smith, one of the more important church leaders, was chosen "to go and regulate the affairs in Utah [County], and preside over them."[22] The work that he did in founding new settlements and aiding the older towns to improve their primitive condition is shown in a letter written in 1852 as follows:

> "The business of locating these sites has been intrusted to me by the Presidency, and I have done it to the best of my judgment .... I have sought out the location for the city of Palmyra [Spanish Fork], on the Spanish Fork, Utah County, and procured the survey of 360 lots, containing one hundred rods of ground each, a temple square of thirteen acres, and four school house squares of two and one half acres each. Streets six rods wide .... it [Spanish Fork] contains sixteen families. The plot was surveyed in July and the first house built on it in August [1852]. A good adobie school house, thirty five feet by twenty two inside, has been erected. I have located and procured the survey of a plot on the American Fork, Utah county; located the city of Mountain Ville, in the Upper Valley of Dry Creek, Utah .... and made an additional survey to Provo City."[23]

As he received full reports concerning the attractive nature of this country from George A. Smith and because of his frequent visits there, Brigham Young in 1852 and 1853 directed colonists to the rich lands in this Utah Lake area. In response to the advice of this leader in the fall of 1852, numbers of immigrants "rolled through Main Street [Springville] in their prairie schooners, followed by their flocks, to settle

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22. Deseret News, II, no. 21, August 21, 1852.
23. "Letter George A. Smith, Great Salt Lake City Dec. 26, 1852 to S.W. Richards, Liverpool England," Millenial Star, XV, April 30, 1853, p. 286.

farther south in the valley."[24] When the Indian War broke out in 1853 there were so many people in the settlements[25] that the small forts, built when the colonies were in their infancy, were inadequate. Consequently larger stockades were built. For example the people of Springville, in the spring of 1854, built a mud wall, twelve feet high and from four to eight feet thick, around the entire city plot which was three-quarters of a mile square,[26] and at Payson in 1855 a fort ninety-six rods square was constructed.[27] This expansion of the area fortified made it possible to build permanently since the area surrounded by the wall was large enough to contain the homes and gardens of the settlers - a condition not possible within the older forts. In 1855 fine buildings were erected in Utah County.[28] By that year sawmills were in operation producing lumber and shingles and with these products better houses were built. Furthermore the population showed rapid increases. These small villages of 1850 and 1851 had for the most part expanded until in 1855 Springville had a population of one thousand and Spanish Fork four hundred and fifty.[29] The colonies such as Provo, Springville and Payson grew rapidly since there was sufficient water and large fields of fertile soil while the less favorably located villages such

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24. D.C. Johnson, A Brief History of Springville, p. 17.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid., p. 25.
27. Wilford Woodruff, Journal, MS, May 26, 1855.
28. "Letter George A. Smith, Great Salt Lake City, February 7, 1855, to Franklin S. Richards, Liverpool England," Millenial Star, XVII, 269.
29. Wilford Woodruff, Journal, MS, May 26, 1855.

as Santaquin increased slowly. In 1858 with the approach of Johnston's army the Utah County towns were forced to accept the refugees from the north and their rich lands were overcrowded. Fortunately this condition was relieved by an opening of new lands north of Salt Lake City when peace was restored. While the methods used in founding the Utah Lake settlements varied, the form of the colonies was similar, when the Indians threatened the settlers lived in compact fort while when peace came they moved to their city lots, farming on their lands which were outlying.

As Manti was in the heart of the Indian country and surrounded by unfriendly Utes the task of forming settlements from that center was a more difficult problem than that of colonizing Utah County. There were several streams north of Manti and several choice sites for colonization. Seven miles north Isaac Behunin spent the winter and spring of 1852-1853 farming on the site of what later was Ephraim.[30] He was unable to hold it however and in the winter of 1854-1855 twenty-five members of the militia who had been forced to abandon the planting of a colony north erected a fort on Mr. Behunin's claim.[31] This small stockade enclosed one and a half acres of land and within it rock and adobe houses and a small church were built.[32] Behind the walls of their well built fort these men were able to defend themselves from the Indians. The settlements in Sanpete County north of Ephraim illustrate the

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30. Sanpete Stake Records, Ephraim.
31. "Letter James Farmer, Fort Ephraim, January 10, 1855 to Brother and Sister Mellor, (England), Millenial Star, XVII, 478.
32. Ibid., p. 476.

difficulty of occupying the Indian country. The rich lands on its banks and the steady flow of Pleasant Creek attracted the attention of several parties from Manti. In 1851 Hambleton and Potter built a sawmill on its banks and supplied lumber to the people in Nephi and those in Sanpete County. In 1852 half a dozen families settled on the banks of the stream, built a cluster of houses, fenced their farm land, planted their grain and harvested a fair crop of wheat.[33] In 1853 the Indians raided the small community stealing the cattle and these pioneers were forced to evacuate their cabins and flee to their parent settlement - Manti. In 1858 a group of men in the crowded Fort Ephraim determined to resettle Pleasant Creek so they sent a committee to call upon Brigham Young asking him to instruct them in regard to the resettling of the place and to appoint a leader.[34] In September 1858 they received from him the following reply:

"I am perfectly willing that you should go there and make a settlement, but we must consider whether it is safe or not. You wish to know my mind on the subject. It is this that you must build a good substantial fort and live in it. Use every precaution that is necessary against the Indians. Your fort must be 12 feet high and 4 ft. thick either of stone or adobies and laid in lime mortar. I also wish you to select one of your number for president and one for Bishop. You will have to be very careful of your stock or you will lose it. You should have good substantial corals for them. In choosing your farming land, get it as near together as possible. It would be better to have only one piece fenced and then you are compact in case of an attack upon you of Indians, or white men."[35]

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33. Sanpete Stake Records, Mount Pleasant.
34. Ibid.
35. "Letter Brigham Young, Great Salt Lake City, September 6, 1858, to Brother John Reese, Etc.," Sanpete Stake Wards, Mount Pleasant.

As a result of this letter and the determination to leave the crowded Ephraim a meeting was held and the Manti surveyor in October 1858, laid out the site of the town, which bore the name Mount Pleasant, and thirteen hundred acres of farming land.[36] In February 1859 thirty men with their cattle and other belongings left the friendly protection of Fort Ephraim and traveled north to Pleasant Creek where in May and June they built their fort enclosing a square of twenty-six rods, the width and heighth of the walls were of the dimensions proposed by Brigham Young.[37]

The founding of Spring City, north of Mount Pleasant, involved a new method and failure before success. In the fall of 1851 Brigham Young advised Father James Allred to select a place where he could gather his numerous family and form a settlement.[38] In the spring of 1852 Father Allred chose the site of Spring City as the location for this family colony. In March 1852 the first cabin was built[39] and subsequently land was surveyed to the amount of one hundred acres and divided into five acre plots, the houses being erected on the lots. However in 1853, the Indians raided the settlement and the Allreds were forced to retire to Manti for protection. That autumn a company of Danish immigrants who were sent to resettle Spring City were compelled by the Indians to retreat. These two failures discouraged settlement for some years but

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36. Sanpete Stake Wards. Mount Pleasant.
37. Ibid.
38. Sanpete Stake Wards. Spring City.
39. Ibid.

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36. Sanpete Stake Wards. Mount Pleasant.
37. Ibid.
38. Sanpete Stake Wards. Spring City.
39. Ibid.

in the summer of 1859 a group of pioneers led by William Black, under instructions from Brigham Young, traveled to Canal Creek and began to erect the permanent settlement of Spring City. The immediate danger of Indian attack was over. Six hundred and forty acres of land were surveyed[40] and fifteen acres given to each family.[41]

In 1859 a number of men obtained permission from Brigham Young to colonize the region north of Mount Pleasant. These men were interested in securing a range for their cattle as well as for agriculture. In the winter of 1859 and 1860 they built rude cabins on the banks of a stream and thus founded Fairview. In the spring additional settlers came to this new town and the community was sufficiently strong to be safe from Indian attack.[42] Moroni, northwest of Ephraim was colonized as a result of a request from Brigham Young. In the winter of 1858-9 the President asked George W. Bradley, who lived in Nephi at that time, to remove to Sanpete and form a settlement on Sanpitch River.[43] Mr. Bradley complied with the desire of the leader and in May 1859 he, together with a company of men arrived on the site of Moroni and began the work of colonization.[44] Rude shanties and dugouts formed the first dwellings of these pioneers.[45] In 1859 President Young called

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40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Sanpete Stake Wards. Fairview.
43. Sanpete Stake Wards. Moroni.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.

George W. Johnson of Summit to locate a colony on Uintah Springs in Sanpete County.[46] He accepted the "call" and in company with his son came to the site of Fountain Green in July 1859.[47] In August he built a log cabin and in the fall of 1859 the Johnsons were reinforced by the arrival of Scandinavian and Welsh immigrants.[48] After an unsuccessful attempt in 1859 on account of Indians, in 1862 the small town of Wales was formed near the Sanpete coal mines by a group of fifteen Welsh miners.[49]

These settlements north of Manti grew rapidly especially in the late "50's". In these years many Welsh and more Scandinavian immigrants came to Utah and Brigham Young directed a large portion of them to Sanpete County. First they were sent to the larger and more adequately protected towns such as Manti and Ephraim. Here they were trained for the job of settling out on the frontier. Their number made necessary the enlargement of the forts in some of the communities to which they came as was the case in Ephraim. The arrival of these immigrants made the holding of the country north of Manti a reality. The older communities in this region now assumed the appearance of bustling towns. In 1859 Manti had a population of twelve hundred, Ephraim, a thousand and Mount Pleasant, eight hundred.[50]

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46. Sanpete Stake Wards. Fountain Green.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.
49. Sanpete Stake Wards. Wales.
50. Deseret News, IX, 161.

South of Manti the occupation of the Sevier Valley was more hazardous. This was the heart of the Ute Country and these Indians were aggressively hostile to the coming of settlers. However this region afforded an excellent cattle range and the pioneers were willing to risk the menace of the Indians to colonize the better watered country to the south. Brigham Young saw however that if the formation of colonies was not carefully directed great loss of life would ensue. Consequently he sent Orson Hyde, one of the Apostles to direct the settlement of that portion of the territory. Mr. Hyde described the methods of settling the Sanpete-Sevier region as follows:

> "After I made these calls for recruits from Moroni and Manti, I gave permission for volunteers for the same place (Alma) .... Before I made these calls, I went through on the whole line; or rather before any that were called had started to find their locations--took a good deal of time in exploring the country and in talking with those who were better acquainted with its facilities than I, with a view to obviating the over charging of any place and that no settlement might be left too feeble for self protection."[51]

Gunnison was formed in 1860 before Orson Hyde took direction of affairs. Two companies built clusters of cabins in the vicinity of Gunnison, fifteen miles southwest of Manti. The first group came from Ephraim and constructed dugouts and cabins east of the present site of the town. The second group came from Springville in Utah County where the range was inadequate for the increasing herds of cattle in that region. This company built their cabins on the marshy land near the

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51. Letter, Orson Hyde, Springtown, December 4, 1864 to G. A. Smith, Salt Lake City.

Sevier River. Both the groups were settled on poor locations and the division into two towns was also dangerous on account of the Indians. In 1862, acting upon the advice of Brigham Young, these groups united to build the town of Gunnison on a site superior to the other two. When Orson Hyde came to Sanpete County, Gunnison was one of the communities under his general supervision.

The Indians were determined that the country south of Gunnison should not be settled by white men so the task of colonization was very difficult. In 1864 Albert Lewis and eight or ten others built houses of cottonwood logs and adobes on the site of Richfield.[52] That same winter other Sanpete County men were called to reinforce the small settlement.[53] In the first years good crops were raised. In 1865, because of the occupation of the Indian lands by the white men, the Black Hawk War began and the Indians raided this and other small settlements nearby killing a number of the pioneers.[54] In 1866 the small towns in the vicinity were abandoned and the people united to build a fort in Richfield.[55] The Indians were too strong, however, for this settlement and it was evacuated in 1867 and not resettled until 1870.[56]

Prior to the Black Hawk War the region south of Richfield was settled. In 1863 a group of six men from Ephraim

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52. William Morrison, Historical Sketch of Richfield, MS, p. 3.
53. Ibid., p. 5.
54. Ibid., pp. 9-13.
55. Ibid., p. 13.
56. Ibid., p. 18.

explored the valleys of the Sevier River south of the site of Richfield for the purpose of forming a settlement. These men were discouraged because of the apparent lack of good land and difficulties to be encountered in building irrigation canals and because of the distance from the settlements.[57] They wrote to Brigham Young expressing their opinions but their report did not discourage him. In 1864 he wrote to Orson Hyde instructing him to found a settlement in Circle Valley on the Upper Sevier.[58] The latter, to meet the wishes of his leader, called about fifty families to found a colony in the country designated by Brigham Young.[59] In March 1864 these settlers arrived on the site of Circleville and later surveyed their townsite, built their houses and planted their crops, and in 1865 they constructed irrigation ditches.[60]Some of the colonists were discouraged by the prospects before them and left but the others remained and received reinforcements. Early in 1865 forty-five log houses were built and by July that year, there were one hundred families in Circleville.[61] By 1867 the Indians threatened the colony and it was abandoned temporarily.

By the outbreak of the Black Hawk War in 1865 there were a number of small colonies in the region south of Manti. Although there were some trained colonizers in that area there had been a large influx of Scandinavians who were not trained

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57. Panguitch Stake Records. Circleville.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.

for the tasks of colonizing and of fighting Indians. To prepare these people to adjust themselves to their new tasks Brigham Young sent two seasoned pioneers to teach these people "the necessity of taking care of themselves, their stock and all that is entrusted to them. They should learn to handle their guns to advantage, so as to be able to protect themselves and their families against the attacks and ravages of the Indians."[62]

Despite these precautions these smaller settlements were unable to maintain themselves without serious loss of life and Brigham Young wrote:

> "If your settlements are to be maintained, and the Zion of our God built up and extended, it must be upon this principle and in the manner we suggest. Scattering around and allowing the lust for land and stock to possess and influence us, will not do it. But gathering together in such numbers as to be safe, and building up our cities in strength and beauty, and having no stock or property of any kind that can be called surplus or that we cannot take care of and use to advantage, will give us power in the earth and enable us to defend ourselves against the depredations and attacks of our enemies."[63]

As a consequence of these instructions, Apostle Orson Hyde sent word to the various colonies south of Manti in May 1866 requiring that every settlement with fewer than from one hundred and fifty to five hundred families should be abandoned.[64] Thus in 1866 and 1867 all the towns south of Gunnison

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62. "Letter Brigham Young, Salt Lake City, May 16, 1866 to Canute Peterson, Lehi," Brigham Young, Letterbook, MS, 1866, p. 410.
63. "Letter First Presidency, Great Salt Lake City, April 28, 1866 to President Orson Hyde and Bishops and Saints in Sanpete, Sevier and Piute Counties," Brigham Young, Letter Book, 1866, MS, pp. 346-347.
64. "Letter William Allred, Circleville, May 8, 1866 to Jesse N. Smith," MS.

were evacuated and not resettled until 1870 when the Indian hostilities were over.

The Pauvan Valley which included the territorial capital of Utah, Fillmore, was not settled with the alacrity of the other regions described above. This broad area possessed few streams or springs, but through it, the Sevier River flowed. Two colonies indicate the difficulties encountered in forming communities in that large but dry region. Ten families were called by President John A. Ray of Fillmore to travel ten miles north and found a colony. This they did in 1855 building their houses and naming their frontier community Holden. In 1856 they erected their fort as protection against the attacks of the Indians.[65] Because of the lack of irrigation facilities of sufficient proportions elsewhere, the leaders in Fillmore investigated the possibilities of founding a colony in Pauvan Valley on the banks of the Sevier River. Thus several explorers were sent to investigate the possible sites on the river. In 1858 the party returning reported to Bishop Brunson of Fillmore that a desirable location was found. A letter was dispatched to Brigham Young describing the exploration and asking for his advice. The Mormon leader sanctioned the project with the proviso that the number of settlers must be large enough to prevent Indian raids. In 1859 the colonists began founding Deseret. The most difficult task in this work was the providing of an irrigation system. The Sevier River was

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65. Millard Stake Records. Holden.

too large a stream for these pioneers to construct a dam across and raise the water high enough to carry it in canals to the farms. That year however the settlers, using twenty-five or thirty teams to haul cedar logs, built their irrigation project and in March 1859 the dam was built and the water on the fields. By 1860 the permanent settlement of Deseret was under way and by the close of that year twenty families were in this new town. That year the townsite was surveyed and some farming land was laid out into forty acre lots for the colonists.[66]

The settlements which were sent from the center of Parowan varied in respect to purposes, methods, and forms. As the major object for establishing the center itself was the development of the iron industry, the first task was the forming of a colony on Coal Creek. A company of thirty men was dispatched to this location in November 1851 under the leadership of Henry Lunt. They surveyed their land and according to John Urie, "George A. Smith in humility before God together with the rest of his fellow pioneers dedicated the ground just surveyed, the surrounding land, the minerals, the water, the timber and grass to the service of God in the manufacture of iron, machinery and etc., that our necessities might be supplied and the territory built up."[67]

In November 1851 shortly after these Parowan men began the formation of Cedar City a Scotch company, trained in coal

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66. Millard Stake Records, Deseret.
67. John Urie, History of Cedar City and Vicinity, MS, p. 11.

mining and the making of steel arrived in the new colony.[68] They were sent from Salt Lake City by Brigham Young for the purpose of making iron. First these settlers lived in their wagon boxes while they built their log cabins and erected their fort. Meanwhile they used the driftwood found along the banks of Coal Creek to build a dam to bring the water to their farms.[69] These first settlers each possessed city lots of one acre each and farm plots of ten acres. Brigham Young sent additional men to this iron region in 1852 and 1853, and it was necessary to build a new fort which enclosed a space one-half mile square, the walls being fourteen inches thick and eight feet high, built of adobes and rock.[70] Until 1858 Cedar City flourished. In 1852, "a new town was laid out in lots 4 rods by 20 with streets 6 rods and alleys 3 rods wide. Two hundred and eight lots were thus provided for the accomodation of the new settlers."[71] In 1853 school houses and other public buildings were erected. By 1855 there were seven hundred and twenty-five people in this settlement and one hundred and forty-five houses were constructed.[72] In 1858 many people moved away from Cedar due to the failure of the iron industry. From that period sheep and cattle replaced manufacturing; these animals found an excellent summer range on Cedar Mountain while the western desert formed a winter pasturage.

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68. Letter George A. Smith, Parowan November 5, 1851 to Willard Richards, Salt Lake City, MS.
69. "Letter M. Caruthers, Cedar Fort January 3, 1852," Deseret News, February 21, 1852.
70. Wilford Woodruff, Journal, MS, 1854-1859, May 19, 1855.
71. John Urie, History of Cedar City and Vicinity, MS, p. 14.
72. Wilford Woodruff, Journal, MS, 1854-1859, May 19, 1855.

So many settlers came to Parowan and Cedar City that the ranges were overcrowded with cattle. Consequently advice was given to the people by Apostles Erastus Snow and F. D. Richards to establish herd grounds near these towns.[73] North of Parowan the large Beaver Valley attracted attention. The early explorers noticed its high grasses and in January 1856, a council was called in Parowan by George A. Smith in which it was determined to colonize Beaver.[74] Willson Nowers and fourteen other men were called to settle this region. Before Mr. Nowers left, Apostle Smith said to him: "I wish you to go to Beaver Valley and there use your skill, influence and ability to build up a city that will be acceptable to the Lord."[75]

These pioneers left the parent colony February 5, 1856 and two days later camped on the Beaver River where they built shanties to house their families.[76] They were joined during the year by a number of families who "drifted" to that country in search of better grazing lands. The settlers surveyed their land for agriculture into five and ten acre plots, these being divided by lot. They laid out their town into small blocks with four lots to a block so each man might have a corner lot.[77] That same year the little settlement was organized as a branch

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73. "Conference Cedar City November 20, 1853," Deseret News, Mar. 2, 1854.
74. R. Maesar, Sketches from the Life of Willson G. Nowers, p. 39.
75. Ibid., p. 40.
76. Ibid., p. 42.
77. Ibid., p. 46.

of the Parowan ward.[78] In 1858 the coming of people from San Bernardino, which was abandoned that year, taxed the resources of the little colony and necessitated the conserving of water.[79] Because of this influx, canals were enlarged and ditches dug; and to house the people a sawmill was erected to furnish lumber.[80] Despite the addition of these thirty families in 1858 the colony developed slowly. It was primarily a cattle raising community. A Deseret News Correspondent described it in 1863 as abounding "with every facility to sustain a populous city. There is an abundance of water and wood, timber for building purposes; range for stock, and the soil is excellent. They have a grist mill, and are putting up a carding machine. .... The houses are built chiefly of logs, with a few adobes, and I saw two shingle roofs and one frame stable."[81]

Northwest of Parowan lead was discovered by several Parowan settlers in 1858. Since that metal was greatly needed, a group of men responded to the call of Brigham Young and founded Minersville in 1859 as an agricultural base for the operation of the lead mines.[82]

South of Cedar City the Parowan folk pushed south of the rim of the Great Basin down into the Dixie country. In 1858 President Haight of Parowan led a group of settlers to

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78. Ibid., p. 48.
79. Ibid., p. 53.
80. Ibid., p. 53.
81. "Letter L.O. Littlefield to Editor Deseret News, May 3, 1863;" Deseret News, XII, 368.
82. Beaver Stake Records. Minersville.

Toquerville in the warm region near the Virgen River[83] and a year later this small colony numbered nineteen families.[84] In 1859 Virgen City was **founded** by Parowan settlers, who were then living in Cedar City, led by Nephi Johnson.[85] They were attracted by the semi-tropical climate and the open ranges where they and their cattle could spread out. These pioneers built canals to carry the water from the Virgen River to their fields.

The activity of the Parowan folk resulted in their forming colonies to the east and the distant southeast. In 1864 more than forty men from this outpost and Beaver and Cedar City crossed Cedar Mountain by the passes in search of a better watered country and an inviting range land. They found the desired area, near a mountain lake, and founded their colony which was subsequently named Panguitch. They tilled their fields and began the erection of a fort. This small settlement was a short distance south of the Settlement of Circleville which was established by Sanpete County pioneers that same year. In 1866, because of Indian hostilities, these Panguitch colonists were forced to abandon their settlement and move back to Iron County. In 1871 George W. Sevy was called to resettle the abandoned colony on the Sevier. He asked for volunteers and that same year he led a small colony to the site of Panguitch. They found the buildings of the former

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83. James G. Bleak, Annals of the Southern Mission, Book A, p. 60.
84. Ibid., p. 70.
85. Ibid., p. 65.

settlers unmolested and they completed the fort, built additional houses and used the irrigation ditches which had been constructed by the former pioneers.

In 1879 and 1880 one of the last and one of the most distant of these colonies, settled by Parowan and her offspring towns, was founded on the San Juan River in extreme southeastern Utah. Sixty families called from Parowan and the nearby towns made the journey to the San Juan River. The journey was extremely difficult. After leaving Panguitch in October 1879, they passed through canyons and over mountains to Escalante the last inhabited place. From here they traveled along dry mesas and down dry washes. From Forty Mile Spring, explorers were sent ahead of the main company. From Fifty Mile Spring to the Colorado River, the difficulties of travel were well nigh insurmountable. A sixty foot cliff had to be leveled sufficiently to lower the wagons and teams. This took several months. Several other times it was necessary to make roads down the slopes of sandstone mesas. Then they built a boat to cross the swiftly flowing Colorado River. As not only the people and their wagons and horses, but over a thousand cattle had to be transported, the crossing required several weeks. Once over, roads were built leading to the tops of the plateaus. From the Colorado to the San Juan, the country was very dry and the problem of food for cattle was serious. Those who had herds of cattle desired to go ahead but the others, fearing that all the grass would thus be consumed, persuaded them to remain with the company. The journey from the Colorado

to the San Juan was accomplished only after weeks of hard toil in building roads. Finally in April 1880 this harassed company reached the San Juan where they founded Bluff. They built a dam across the river, dug their canal and ditches through sandstone ledges and planted their crops and built their houses.[86]

In the early "60's", Cache Valley was the region of great activity in colonization. After the peaceful termination of the Utah War in 1858, the people were anxious to leave the crowded settlements south of Salt Lake City. Peter Maughan and the earlier pioneers resettled Wellsville, the northern center of the Territory, in 1859 at the suggestion of Brigham Young. This founder of Wellsville used every opportunity to advertise the facilities of Cache Valley to the settlers of the south. In 1859 he wrote:

"The length of this valley from north to south is about forty miles, the breadth from east to west about twelve miles. There are four new settlements already located towards the south end of the valley; the farming land is extensive; the water for irrigation and all kinds of machinery is abundant; in short it is the best watered valley I have ever seen in these mountains. The range for the cattle in the summer season is excellent, and there is a reasonable amount of grass land in the vicinity of each settlement already located, and plenty of good grass and farming land further north for other settlements. There are over one hundred families engaged in agricultural pursuits in this valley at the present time."[87]

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86. The material for the settlement of Bluff was gathered from three sources as follows:
"Letter John Taylor (President of L.D.S. Church at the time) to William Budge, January 26, 1880," Millenial Star, XLII, 140-141;
San Juan Stake Records;
Oral Testimony Peter Mortenson, November 1925.
87. "Letter Peter Maughan to Editor Deseret News, Cache Valley June 15, 1859," Deseret News, IX, 128.

As Peter Maughan reported, four colonies were planted in Cache Valley in 1859 and a fifth later that fall. Wellsville, the center, as described above, was resettled by Peter Maughan that season. Mendon, which had been founded in 1857, was reoccupied in 1859. The log cabin, built by the first pioneers, was used as a shelter in 1859. The settlers built their cabins in two rows, the fronts of the buildings facing each other and the rear of these homes forming the walls of the Fort.[88] Out beyond the residences were the corrals and gardens and that first winter a log building was erected for religious and educational purposes. The first pioneers of Logan came in the spring of 1859. From the mountain passes near Mendon they viewed the valley and selected a site on Summit Creek (afterwards the town of Smithfield) for the first settlement. At Wellsville Peter Maughan, who had been given direction of affairs in Cache Valley, tried to dissuade them from their purpose on account of Indian difficulties, suggesting a site on the Logan River (later Logan) to them. They went on to Summit Creek, however, driving their teams through the low marshy bottom lands, building a bridge across the Little Bear River. In May they surveyed their land, plowed fields and planted their crops. Several members left this small group and Peter Maughan, hearing that the Indians were menacing,[89] advised them to move to Wellsville. In June these settlers followed the earlier advice of the leader and founded a

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88. Cache Stake Records. Mendon.
89. Cache Stake Records. Logan.

colony on Logan River.[90] Here in July 1859, Peter Maughan organized them appointing committees to give out land to the colonists and forming them into a militia company for protection against the Indians.[91] In the spring of 1859 Providence was settled on the banks of a small stream several miles south of Logan.[92] In the fall of the year the fifth town Smithfield was founded. Eight families spent that first winter in this small colony on the banks of Summit Creek.

These five villages formed the nucleus of settlement in Cache Valley. This valley was ready for the boom days of the next year. In addition to the advertising by Peter Maughan, the reports of the success of the settlers in harvesting their grain and the news of the abundant grasses in the region attracted the attention of the people who lived in the crowded area south of Salt Lake City. Though these five earlier communities were founded under the guidance of Brigham Young and Peter Maughan, the rush to Cache Valley in 1860 was like the advance of the settlers to the other American frontiers. The pushing of pioneers over the trails of the Hudson's Bay and of the American trappers and fur traders into Cache Valley was similar to the rush of settlers into the Ohio Valley in earlier times. The picture of these "waves" of colonists was described by the editor of the Deseret News as follows:

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90. Ibid.
91. Ibid.
92. Ibid.

"There has been more of a moving, place changing disposition manifested among the people during the last six or eight months than usual and many have emigrated .... to the new settlements principally in Cache, Utah, Sanpete and Beaver Counties.

"By moving about from place to place some materially better their condition while others do not. In new countries there is always a little better place for a certain class of population than the one where they are now located. Such persons are constantly opening new farms for those who are less nomadic in their habits, and who prefer purchasing a farm to commencing a new one themselves.

"The first class are the pioneers of new countries and settlements, and those that follow generally become the permanent inhabitants; who being somewhat averse to frontier life and those changes which are associated with making new homes and establishing new colonies, content themselves with improving, beautifying and adorning those portions of 'Mother Earth' which the pioneer partially reclaims from a wilderness state. The latter often become wealthy, while those who are constantly moving frequently remain poor.

"Without the pioneer, the progress and extension of civilization, so called, would not be very rapid, and without the steady, calculating portion of the community, who follow up such adventurers, improvements in agriculture, science, arts and manufactures would be equally slow."[93]

Despite the warnings of this modern Jeremiah the rush to Cache Valley was accelerated. As the editor later wrote:

"Emigrants have been constantly passing through this city, [Salt Lake], for two or three months, on their way to Cache Valley, and more especially since the winter season ended. How Many have gone there this spring is not known, at least no definite report of the number has yet been made, but judging from the hundred of wagons and teams that have been moving in that direction, some of the cities, settlements, towns and villages in Utah County and perhaps some settlements in the southern part of Salt Lake County must have materially decreased in population, in consequence of the great rush northward by those in search of new homes and better locations.

Only a few days since, a company numbering some twenty wagons, with flocks and herds sufficient to make an imposing show, passed our office going into the north country. On

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93. Deseret News, X, March 21, 1860, p. 20.

stepping into the street an old acquaintance was recognized in the company as it was passing, from whom, on inquiry, we ascertained that they were from Payson, one of the most thriving towns in Utah County, and that their destination was 'Cache', which place though within the Territory is a long way from that portion of it where most of the wheat and grain was raised last summer."[94]

The influx of people added materially to the strength of the communities already formed and resulted in the founding of additional colonies. In Smithfield in 1859 there were eleven families,[95] while in 1860 the fort contained seventy-six houses and eighty-four families.[96] The rush of new settlers into the valley resulted in 1860 in the founding of such colonies as Hyrum, Millville and Paradise in the south and Hyde Park and Franklin in the north, the last named being the oldest community in Idaho.

As Cache Valley filled with population it assumed new importance to Brigham Young. Though Peter Maughan was placed in charge by the leader in 1859, in 1860 Apostle Ezra T. Benson was dispatched to preside over all the settlements in the valley.[97] The various towns were organized into wards, and Logan was divided into four wards in this early period. The method used in the selection of bishops to preside over the people in each ward was unique. In Logan Apostle Hyde and Peter Maughan conferred over the selection of a bishop. The pioneer of Cache Valley recommended William B. Preston for that position since Mr. Preston had shown great energy in the founding of

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94. Deseret News, X, (1860), 52.
95. Stella Sorenson, Supplementary Study of Smithfield, p. 3.
96. Ibid., p. 9.
97. Brigham Young, Journal, MS, 1860, March 2, 1860, p. 41.

Logan.[98] Apostle Hyde was convinced and William B. Preston was ratified by the people of Logan as their presiding officer. In Franklin in 1860 a meeting was held under the direction of Brigham Young. Apostle Wilford Woodruff wrote the minutes as follows:

"A rainy morning the people were called together (in) a meeting at 10 oclock. Prayer by Joseph Young. President B. Young then said I will propose a little business, I learn there is no bishop in this place. though three men have been chosen as a council to preside. I would like to know the feelings of the people here about a bishop, Brother Maughan moved that President Young nominate a bishop. President Young said I will nominate Brother Preston Thomas bishop of this place, it was carried unanimously, He was going to Soda Springs but I (Brigham Young) wish him to stay here and be your bishop."[99]

And Preston Thomas remained in Franklin as bishop. After disposing of the problem of organization, Brigham Young explained the functions of the various officers as follows:

"You have Brother Benson, one of the Twelve, residing here to encourage, dictate council, and instruct you. You also have brother Peter Maughan, who is an experienced man, for your presiding Bishop .... we wish to have him take supervision of all the bishops in this valley; let them be under his dictation."[100]

Brigham Young also advised the people of Cache Valley in regard to material affairs. The reporter accompanying him wrote:

"The preaching and teaching of the President and his associates during the tour, not only in Cache Valley but in all other places was almost exclusively of a practical nature, relating to secular concerns and the temporal salvation of the people in providing themselves with the necessaries of life,

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98. Edward Tullidge, History of Utah, II, 354.
99. Wilford Woodruff, Journal, MS, 1860-1865, June 9, 1860.
100. Deseret News, X, (1860), 178.

and securing themselves and their substance from attack and distruction by savage foes."[101]

Thus under this new leadership formed by Brigham Young, these settlements, which developed so rapidly in the "rush," were united and formed into a stake. Forts were constructed, and each town in the valley possessed its militia to protect it against the attacks of the hostile Shoshones. During the Civil War, saw mills were erected so that the people might build more attractive and more substantial houses to replace the ruder dwellings built in the earlier years and grist mills were constructed to furnish flour for the settlers. During the same period, stores were erected which furnished the necessities to the settlers. Jennings and Godbe, and the Thatchers sold hardware, nails, window panes, groceries and cloth to the people who lived in the valley.[102] Because of its central location Logan replaced Wellsville in 1860 as the center for the northern county and from that date it was the nucleus from which the northern region was colonized.

After the best lands had been taken by the settlers in Cache Valley, explorations were made to the east and north into the Bear Lake area to investigate its possibilities for colonization. More immigrants were coming to Utah and lands were needed for them. In 1863 a meeting was held in Logan in which Brigham Young said that Bear Lake Valley was to be occupied and that a company should be sent that fall.[103] At the

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101. Deseret News, X, 124.
102. Edward Tullidge, History of Utah, II, 377.
103. Minutes Council Meeting at Logan August 23, 1863, MS.

appointed time a party of pioneers was dispatched, under the direction of Apostle Charles C. Rich, a veteran leader, to found towns in this new country. From the northern part of Cache Valley, they constructed a road eastward through Emigration Canyon and in September 1863 they arrived on the site of Paris. Here they constructed twenty log cabins to house the settlers. In the spring of 1864 Brigham Young visited them and gave them the following advice:

"I do not design to preach but merely to express my feelings in regard to this valley; we find it to be an excellent valley as far as we can judge from present appearances. It is a fine place to settle and raise grain, to build houses, make farms, set out orchards, raise fruit, and all the necessaries of life, to make curselves happy here as well as in other places. Elder Charles C. Rich one of the Twelve Apostles has been appointed to dictate the settling of this valley. We wish to have the brethren abide his counsel, and if he needs instructions he will receive them from the proper source .... Build mills to facilitate the building up of your towns and settlements, and let there be no selfish monopoly in this. Let the brethren not burn up any timber that will make lumber, but bring it down to your mills, and saw it up for your fences, to build you houses and make improvements of the best kind. My opinion is that the adobie is the best building material if it can be well protected from moisture which is an easy matter where plenty of lumber is to be had, and when they have stood one year they are prepared to stand for five hundred years as well as not. When you build your permanent dwellings, build nice commodious habitations and make your improvements as fast as you can .... When you form your settlements get together pretty close, let there be at least ten families on ten acres of land. When you start to build upon a block (brother Charles C. Rich please remember this), have the brethren build upon that block until every lot is occupied before you touch another, that if you are attacked by Indians, one scream will arouse the whole block."[104]

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104. Record of President Young's Bear Lake Tour May 16 to May 26, 1864, MS.

In the spring of 1864, parties of settlers migrated to Bear Lake Valley founding three more colonies. Saint Charles was formed in May 1864. Its pioneers divided the farm land between them but the town site was surveyed into ten acre blocks. Twenty-five families built twenty cabins on their city lots in that place during the first year and in 1865 the people erected a meeting house for all public purposes while in 1866 they constructed a flour mill to serve the valley.[105] In the spring of 1864 a small town, Liberty, was founded north of Saint Charles where twenty families built cabins, planted crops, and set out an orchard.[106] In the northern end of the Bear Lake Valley, in Idaho, Montpelier was founded by some pioneers in the spring of 1864. A townsite was surveyed and houses were erected and water was brought from Montpelier Creek to irrigate the farms.[107]

While the settlements were being founded in Cache Valley and the immediate neighborhood new settlements were being established in the southern part of Utah. Over seven hundred people were sent to found Saint George in 1861[108] with the view of using many of them to form other colonies. Furthermore Apostle Pratt and a number of families went east of Saint George to erect towns on the Upper Virgen. The village of Rockville was founded by them in 1861.[109] In the various

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105. Bear Lake Stake Records. Saint Charles.
106. Bear Lake Stake Records. Liberty Ward.
107. Bear Lake Stake Records, Montpelier Ward.
108. James G. Bleak, Annals of the Southern Mission Book A,MS, p. 60.
109. Ibid., p. 101.

"pockets" between Saint George and Rockville a number of small towns were built in 1861. The tax payers list showed that in 1866 there were twenty-four families in Grafton, eight in Duncan's Retreat, and eight in Rockville.[110] But the activity of these Dixie settlers was not confined to the Virgen. This region was very dry and the problem of securing range land for cattle was difficult to solve. In 1864 several parties made their way through the difficult passes to found Berryville and Windsor in Long Valley where higher area afforded better pasturage.[111] That year several stock ranches were established at Pipe Springs, Mocassin Springs, Quitch-um-pah and Short Creek.[112] The settlers were sent northwest to Pine Valley, thirty-five miles from Saint George to construct saw mills to furnish lumber for the colonies and range for the cattle.[113] In this vicinity additional valleys were occupied as herd grounds for the Dixie pioneers.[114] In 1862 and 1863 small groups of people were sent to occupy the arable land on the banks of the small streams near Saint George. As Apostle Snow made tours of inspection of the region to the west, he saw the availability of the area for settlements. The fertile lands on the banks of the Muddy River in southeastern Nevada especially attracted the attention of this leader and he sent colonies there. In response to a letter advising Brigham Young of the rich lands in that region,[115] additional families

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110. Ibid., p. 147.
111. Ibid., p. 199.
112. Ibid., p. 200.
113. Ibid., p. 123.
114. Ibid., p. 165.
115. Ibid., pp. 229-231.

were sent from Salt Lake City to form settlements on the Muddy.[116] And before long several flourishing towns were built. In 1866 because of the menace of the Utes and Paiutes, Brigham Young wrote to Apostle Snow advising the abandonment of the towns where there were fewer than one hundred and fifty well armed men.[117] A number of the smaller towns were therefore evacuated and the settlers were concentrated at the colonies better adapted for defense. Several years later because of the difficulties between the pioneers who settled southeastern Nevada and the miners there, that area was abandoned and the attention of Brigham Young was directed to the Little Colorado and Southern Arizona as a new field for settlement.

He sent his son John W. Young to the Little Colorado to supervise the four towns forming the center in the southern country and to explore and direct the founding of colonies in Arizona.[118] In 1877 this leader sent a small party of men to the Le Roux Spring, seven miles northwest of Flagstaff, where they built Fort Moroni, for protection and to hold control of the Spring.[119] In 1877 a number of families were sent southeast of the Little Colorado settlements to found Woodruff where they built a small fort as protection.[120] Some distance south William J. Flake and a party founded Snowflake.[121] Near the

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116. Ibid., p. 246.
117. Ibid., p. 320.
118. J.H. McClintock, Mormon Settlements in Arizona, p. 152.
119. Ibid., pp. 152-153.
120. Ibid., pp. 161-162.
121. Ibid., p. 164.

southern headwaters of the Little Colorado Ammon M. Tenney, one of the most famous of the Mormon scouts and Indian missionaries, with a small party purchased a ranch and, in 1879, founded the colony of Saint Johns.[122]

The colonization plans of Brigham Young were not limited however to the Little Colorado. In 1875 he sent a missionary party among the Pimas in southern Arizona.[123] The exploring group even pushed southward into northern Mexico blazing the trail for the Mormon settlements on the Gila River and in northern Mexico. As a result of their explorations, a pioneering expedition was sent by Brigham Young to settle somewhere in the southern country.[124] The eighty-three people, in this group left January 17, 1877. In March 1877 these exhausted pioneers founded the town of Lehi,[125] near the present Phoenix, on one of the branches of the Gila River. They built irrigation ditches to water their fields.[126] Near Lehi, Mesa, one of the most important of the Mormon settlements in Arizona was founded by a group of Bear Lake settlers.[127] In 1878 the townsite of Mesa was settled by these people.[128] They brought the irrigation water to their fields by remodeling an old Indian canal.[129]

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122. Ibid., p. 179.
123. Ibid., pp. 198-199.
124. Ibid., p. 203.
125. Ibid., pp. 203-4.
126. Ibid., p. 206.
127. Ibid., p. 212.
128. Ibid., p. 215.
129. Ibid., pp. 213-14.

From the Little Colorado to the Gila in the years from 1877 to 1879 a small string of settlements erected by the Mormon people under chosen leaders gave these pioneers the control of large areas of Arizona and provided lands for the influx of immigrants who were unable to form colonies westward into Nevada on account of the presence of miners there.

While these different settlements afforded marked contrasts on account of the varying latitudes and the natural resources available, the unity of the whole group of colonies because of religious solidarity and of the agricultural nature of each town produced certain similarities in all of them. Mr. Mallinson, an English convert, writing to his brother in 1869, described the condition of the territory as follows:

"It may be interesting to you to know something of the way people make a living in this particular part of the world. They live in agricultural towns as a rule, the streets being laid out at right angles similar to what they are in Ashton, but instead of our water being buried underground in pipes as with you, we have water ditches, on each side of the streets, planted with shade trees on the edge of the side walks. The blocks of land are divided into city lots of from one to one and one-fourth acres to each City lot, on which the new settler builds his house, plants his orchard, farms his garden, builds his barn, out houses, pig sty, hen coop, sheep pens etc., etc. The Territory is made up of a series of valleys, with ranges of high mountains on each side, and the towns are laid off on the sloping bench land, whenever there happens to be a river or brook flowing from the mountains. These streams are formed by springs on the hills or by the melting of snow on the mountains, and as we cannot depend on rain in this high altitude, we are obliged to build towns on the water courses. On the bottom lands near the centre of the valley, and beginning at the lower edge of the town, our farming land is laid off, the farms of a whole town being commonly enclosed with a single fence round the outside, thus effecting a great saving in fence materials. As the country gets more settlers, these fields get divided up and fenced into single farms. As this is an Indian country, it is not safe to settle on small streams that can only sustain a few families, so that it is found best to guide the streams through ditches to the farm land of the

town. We are generally small farmers, owning from five to twenty acres of land for a family. As a rule, each farmer keeps cows and sheep which are herded in summer, the town finding herdsmen to take them to the pasture in the morning, and after guarding them from Indians, spring holes, and other damages to bring them to the public yard at night, where the owners receive and taken them home to milk, returning them the following morning. The sheep are herded on a somewhat different plan, except that each owner takes them home at the beginning of winter, and returns them to the shepherd when spring opens. By this system, a shoemaker, joiner, blacksmith, tailor, or other mechanic can cultivate five acres of land, and have all the time he may require for working at his trade, in addition to raising wheat, potatoes, sugar cane, squashes, turnips, carrots, etc., etc., look after his orchard, garden, pigs, hens or other poultry, and thus as it were live within himself and his family. Almost every family has a team of some kind, as a yoke of oxen, a pair of mules or small horses, with which they haul their firewood from the mountains, or employ about the farm. Stone coal is used very little except by smiths. Our meadows are generally made by the rivers overflowing the land in the centre of the valleys, which is apportioned to each town, and again to each citizen of the town. In the middle of the summer the streams are so low that we can get on the meadow land and cut and haul our hay home, but at other seasons, it is inundated with water. Our women spin our wool on a single spindle spinning wheel, one thread at a time and one-hand looms are of the most primitive construction, but we can make very good, servicable cloth. We make our own golden syrup treacle from Chinese sugar canes, and common treacle from carrots, beets, squashes, punkins and etc. Some of the ways we adopt in making articles to eat or wear are in a fair way of being superseded, now that the great Union Pacific Railroad is nearly completed from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans ....

"Salt Lake City is becoming a city of princely merchant's palaces. It is the great centre of the overland mails for all the western states .... The streets in the centre of the city are being adorned with large shops, and princely warehouses, as well as hundreds of the most beautiful dwelling-houses .... On each side of the streets are stately trees in straight lines, and every city lot being an orchard of apples, peach, and every other kind of fruit trees that will grow in this latitude."[130]

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130. "Letter Robert Mallinson, Moroni, Sanpete County, to his brother residing in Ashton, (England), February 11, 1869," Millenial Star, XXXI, 366-367.

CHAPTER VI

THE SETTLEMENT OF ORDERVILLE

The method of settling Orderville was unique. Here everything was planned and accomplished by cooperative effort. The colonists first formed themselves into a corporation called the United Order of Mount Carmel. The members of this organization built Orderville. The principles of the Order were not new, Joseph Smith had advanced the ideas first in the Middle West and had organized an Order of Enoch in Missouri.

For the purposes of welding his people together and of making them self sustaining economically, Joseph Smith in 1831 announced the basic principles of the United Order. They were: the earth is the Lord's, the people are stewards only over their possessions, those who have a surplus are to give it to the church for the poor, the bishop is to apportion the inheritances on the bases of equality according to the size of the families and their circumstances and needs.[1] When these ideas were put into practice it was expected that there would be considerable redistribution of wealth which would lead to greater economic equality among the members. However each man was to possess an inheritance.[2] Thus the idea of private property was an essential part of the program of Joseph Smith though excessive wealth in the hands of one individual was not possible under the plan.[3] The Mormons made a few purchases of land

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1. Joseph A. Geddes, The United Order Among the Mormons Missouri Phase, pp. 31-32.
2. Ibid., p. 32.
3. Ibid., p. 32.

in Missouri to start this experiment[4] and made some little progress. The controversies however between these people and the Missourians made a thorough testing of the principles impossible. The Order of Enoch was also tried in a limited way in Ohio. Besides the difficulties with the neighbors, the lack of economic leadership and the internal strife in the Mormon movement prevented the realization of the United Order.

From the founding of the first settlement in Utah there was a recognition of these principles which Joseph Smith enumerated. The pioneers believed that the land in their new Zion belonged to God. They regarded their city lots and farm lands as their inheritances and themselves as stewards. There was a considerable surplus donated for the aid of the poor, and a tithe of their income was paid by many people. Numerous community enterprises were developed by cooperative action. But there was no active attempt in these early years to practice the ideas of Joseph Smith in regard to the Order of Enoch.

In 1874, however, when so much had been done in colonization by individual and community efforts, Brigham Young believed it was an opportune time to renew the United Order. Speaking in St. George January 11, 1874 he said that it was "his desire to see the people prepare for entering into the Gospel of the Son of God after the Order of Enoch."[5] A month

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4. Ibid., p. 36.
5. J.G. Bleak, Annals of the Southern Mission, Book A, Vol. II, MS, p. 23.

later in Saint George he proposed the United Order and the people unanimously accepted his suggestion.[6] This was the beginning of the Order in the Southern Mission in which Orderville was included. From Saint George the movement spread rapidly, organizations being formed in the nearby settlements. The United Order was not successful in most cases and was dissolved within a few months.[7]

The settlers who founded Orderville were trained for their task in earlier colonial experiments. They had been sent by Brigham Young and Erastus Snow to form colonies on the Muddy River in southeastern Nevada. After the difficulties incident to the beginning of settlement were overcome, they were confronted by troubles which arose because non-Mormon miners found metals in that region. The settlers were taxed so heavily that it was very difficult for them to continue to live in Nevada. Consequently Brigham Young wrote to them as follows:

"Your isolation from market, the high rate at which property is assessed in Nevada, with the unscrupulous character of many of the officers of newly organized regions, will combine to render your continuance in developing the resources of the Muddy a matter of grave consideration.

"You are occupying soil, climate and water which are capable of producing a most desirable country, but when you consider the drawbacks with which you are surrounded, you may think them too great to be overcome, in view of the advantages to be attained thereby.

"You have done a noble work in making and sustaining that outpost of Zion, against many difficulties, amid exposures and toil.

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6. Ibid., pp. 21-22.
7. Orderville Historical Record Book, A, MS, Vol. I, pp. 46-47.

"We now advise that you gather together in your several settlements and take into consideration your future course, and if a majority, after fairly canvassing the subject, conclude to remain and continue to develope the resources which abound with you, all abide by the result: but if the majority of the Saints in council determine that it is better to leave the state whose laws and burdens are so oppressive, let it be so done."[8]

The advice of Brigham Young was followed, a meeting was held and a resolution to abandon the Muddy settlement was passed by a vote of sixty-one to two.[9] A committee was sent to investigate the possibilities of Long Valley in south central Utah. The historian of the United Order of Orderville described their findings as follows:

"The explorers entered the valley on Christmas day 1870 and found it to be simply a canyon from one hundred yards to three-fourths of a mile in width, and about fifteen miles in length from the lower part and going up the river to the upper tributary or forks of the River (Virgen). The valley contains about Thirteen hundred acres of tillable land and scarcely enough water in the river to irrigate it. From the lower part of the valley to what is known as the rim of the basin, is about Twenty Five miles. The valley has several canyons branching out reaching to the rim. Within six miles of the top of the rim and on the top are covered with long leaf pine timber, from which a good quality of lumber can be made. The soil of the valley is generally a heavy clay, the climate is mild and adapted to the raising of fruits and small grain."[10]

The report of the explorers was favorably received by the people in the towns on the banks of the Muddy so they left their houses and farms and migrated in a body two hundred strong entering Long valley in March 1874[11] and in the southern end

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8. "Letter First Presidency, Saint George, December 14, 1870, to Brother James Leithead and the Brethren and Sisters residing on the Muddy," J.G. Bleak, Annals of the Southern Mission, MS, Book A, Vol. II, pp. 67-70.
9. J.G. Bleak, Annals of the Southern Mission, MS, II, 73.
10. Orderville Ward Historical Record, MS, Book A, no. 1, pp. 45-46.
11. Ibid., p. 46.

they founded Mount Carmel. Here in 1874 they organized the United Order. They were not unanimous, the vote being one hundred and ninety persons in favor and thirty opposed.[12] Within the year some of those not favorable withdrew from the organization. It was difficult for these two groups to live amicably in the same town. The settlers from the Muddy desired to continue the experiment. Thus to avoid friction those who remained in the Order, after conferring with Howard O. Spencer, whom Brigham Young dispatched as Bishop of the Long Valley settlements, decided to leave Mount Carmel and move several miles north and found a colony where they might practice the principles of the Order of Enoch without interruption.

There people laid out the town of Orderville in 1875. The main buildings were erected on a block thirty rods square. In the center of this lot, they constructed a community dining hall, twenty-two by forty feet. Inside this they placed three rows of tables which would seat about two hundred people. A bakery and kitchen were built on the north end. On the north, east, and west sides of the square, lumber buildings or shanties were compactly built for the lodgings of the colonists. The southeast corner of the block contained a two story frame structure large enough to provide bedrooms for twelve small families.[13] Inside the outer rows of houses, there were

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12. Ibid., p. 47.
13. Ibid., p. 219.

other shanties. These buildings gave Order City a very compact appearance.

Here, for the first time, the opportunity to live in the Order under ideal conditions presented itself. Their principles were explained by their historian as follows:

"That all people are litterally the sons and daughters of God, and that the earth is His, and all it contains; that He created it and its fullness, for the benefit and use of his children; and that all His children, providing they keep His commandments, are equally entitled to the blessings of the earth, and that with the proper regulation, there is enough and to spare for all and that every person is simply a steward and not an owner of property he has in charge, and that his time, strength and talents shall be used for the good of all. And all shall be required to be diligent in their labors, economical in their habits and temperate in their lives."[14]

The objects of this order are shown in Article Three of their Articles of Incorporation, which is as follows:

"The objects of this Corporation are for mining, manufacturing, commercial and other industrial pursuits, and for the construction of wagon roads, irrigating ditches, and the colonization and improvement of land, and for the establishment and maintaining colleges, Seminaries, Church, Libraries, and any benevolent, charitable, or scientific asscciations, and for any other rightful object consistent with the Constitution of the United States and the laws of this Territory. Also to take, receive, and execute trusts, either passive or active, and for these purposes shall have the right and power to receive, take and hold, either by gift, purchase, or deveise the right, title, interest, and possession of real or personal property, and may bargain, sell, and alienate the same, and thereby pass such title thereto as may hold therein."[15]

The charter provided that this corporation was to last for twenty-five years. It was hoped that the members would place their property at the disposal of the Order though this was not compulsory. Each person was however to give his ser-

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14. Ibid., pp. 46-47.
15. Ibid., p. 42.

vices to the organization and was to receive the necessary food and lodging as compensation. It was expected that each would produce more than he consumed and thus a surplus would exist through common effort. It was proposed that as far as practicable each individual should work at the labor for which he was best fitted. Because of the diverse occupations, numerous industries were to be developed so that the people could produce everything that was necessary for the whole community.

The members of the United Order were organized into different departments of labor with a board of directors in control of the business of the whole body. The various divisions were: the Boarding House,[16] the Woolen Cloth Manufacturing,[17] the Store,[18] the Cabinet Shop,[19] the Wagon and Blacksmith,[20] the Coopering,[21] the Commissary, the Grist Mill, the Shoe Shop, the Soap and Broom, the Tailoring, the Canal, the Public Works, the Tin Shop, the Freighting, the Chicken, the Tannery, the Sawmill, the Stock Feeding, the Millinery, the Telegraph, the Schools,[22] the Farming,[23] the Stock and Dairy, the Cotton Farm,[24] the Sheep,[25] and the Gardening Departments,[26] each of which was under the direction of a foreman.

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16. Ibid., p. 219.
17. Ibid., pp. 215-217.
18. Ibid., pp. 232-233.
19. Ibid., p. 230.
20. Ibid., p. 231.
21. Ibid., p. 237.
22. Ibid., pp. 221-226.
23. Ibid., p. 200.
24. Ibid., p. 80.
25. Ibid., p. 213.
26. Ibid., p. 209.

The people lived in the shanties provided, for which they paid a rental which was one dollar a room per annum.[27] At the call of the bugle the settlers gathered in the general dining hall where they ate together. The price of board was one dollar and twenty cents a week.[28] The people were placed on an allowance in regard to clothing, men were given $17.50 per annum, women $16.50 and children one-half or two-thirds that amount.[29] When difficulties arose in regard to the apportionment of clothing the bishop determined what the proper allowance should be.[30] These costs were charged against the members in the account books of the Order. The wages of labor were fixed at certain dates. In 1877 the remuneration was one dollar and fifty cents a day for men and seventy-five cents a day for women,[31] This proved too high however and that same year wages were cut in half. In 1878 a wage scale was determined according to the ages, the males varying from twenty-five cents a day for children eleven years old to sixty cents a day at seventeen while those over that age received seventy-five cents per day.[32] The females' wages varied from thirty-five cents for girls fifteen years of age to fifty cents per day for women.[33] When the wages were thus lowered from the peak of 1877 the cost of board was also reduced to forty-one

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27. Ibid., p. 64.
28. Ibid., p. 220.
29. Ibid., p. 216.
30. Ibid., p. 216.
31. Ibid., p. 63.
32. Ibid., p. 64.
33. Ibid., p. 64.

dollars and sixty cents per annum in 1878.[34] Those who labored were given credit for labor in the records of the organization. Those who were diligent had a favorable balance at the end of the year while those less active were often in debt to the order at the close of the fiscal year. This condition was possible since the labor which a man performed depended upon his own willingness as none was compelled to work. All were to fare and share alike.

Annually the board of directors met to outline the work for the ensuing year. The following is a sample board meeting:

"Feb. 13, 1880, Board met in the Shoe Shop. Bros. Samuel Claridge and John R. Young necessarily absent. All others of the Board present. Prayer by Israel Hoyt. On motion, Wilford W. Heaton and John M. Allen go and labor at the cotton farm. A letter from John R. Young from Pahreah was read and on motion, Benjamin D. Black is appointed to assist John R. Young on Pahreah. On motion Amos Cox was released from the Moccasin farm. On motion Christopher B. Heaton is released from the stock herd to take charge of Moccasin farm. On motion H. T. Stolworthy is appointed to take charge of the stock herd. On motion John Crofts Jr. is appointed to assist C. H. Heaton at Moccasin farm. On the 14th the committee of sisters, met with the Board as follows. Susana S. Fackrell, Elizabeth Brown, Maria Black, Clarissa and Hana E. Hoyt, Harriet Bowers, and Persis A. Spencer. Brother Nephi Johnson held a claim on the Pahreah adjoining our claim, that he offered to sell for two horses, on motion O. U. O. buy him out. On motion Henry W. Esplin was sustained as foreman of the farming department the present year and C. N. Carroll is sustained as foreman of our lucern farm. And Levi Hampton as foreman of the second farm. Alvin F. Heaton was sustained as foreman of the third farm, and Allen Cox was sustained as foreman of the fourth farm. Johnathan Heaton is sustained as foreman of the Enterprise or cotton farm. John J. Esplin was sustained as foreman of the Lake farm. Thomas Robertson was sustained as foreman of the blacksmith shop. On motion F. L. Porter was released as foreman in the kitchen and boarding house. On motion Persis A. Spencer take charge of the boarding house, with Susana Fackrell and Elizabeth Brown as assistants. On motion Carmi N. Porter is appointed to labor in the

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34. Ibid., p. 64.

kitchen under the direction of Persis A. Spencer. On motion Elizabeth Brown is released from assisting in the cloth department. On motion Albina Young was sustained as foreman of the cloth department, with Marinda and Maria Black as assistants. On motion D. M. Cox was sustained as foreman of the carpenter and wagon shop. On motion Warriner A. Porter was sustained as foreman of the cabinet shop. On motion John C. White was sustained as foreman of the Garden. On motion Lydia K. Young is sustained as foreman of the millinery department with sister Johannah Coveington, Salley Palmer, and Hannah Glispy as assistants. On motion Isaac Asay is sustained as foreman of the sawmill. On motion William M. Black was sustained as foreman miller. On motion Thomas Blackburn was sustained as foreman of the shoe shop. On motion Edward M. Webb was sustained head school teacher, with Francia L. Porter, Mary Fackrell, and Ann Cox as assistants. On motion John R. Young was sustained foreman of the sheep-herd department. On motion Sarah Ann Robertson was sustained as foreman of the sewing department, with Clarissa Hoyt and Susan B. Heaton as assistants. On motion Edson P. Porter is sustained as foreman of the tannery. On motion Israel Hoyt is sustained as foreman of the feed department. On motion Harriet Bowers is sustained as foreman of miscellaneous work. On motion Thomas Stolworthy is sustained as foreman of odd jobs. On motion Matilda Stolworthy is sustained as foreman of the knitting department, with Emma A. Spencer and Priscilla Porter as assistants. On motion I. V. Carling is sustained as foreman of the tin shop. On motion the price of girls labor is as follows: 10 years old 10¢ per day. Eleven, 15¢. Twelve, 20¢. Thirteen 30¢. Fifteen 50¢ per day. Meeting adjourned and met on Feb. 21, 1880. On motion Ann Rice be foreman of the medical and midwife department, with Marinda Black and Mercy Harmon as assistants. On motion Willes Webb be foreman in the harness shop. On motion John Crofts, Per Pearson, John Pearson, Thomas Jeffs, Jacob Hersiger, Levi and Oscar White, labor under the direction of John A. White in the garden. On motion D. B. Fackrell is foreman of the store. Charles W. Carroll is foreman of the bakery, with Bailey Maxwell as assistant. On motion William R. Butler is foreman of the calf pasture farm. On motion Willard Carroll is appointed foreman of the Mt. Carmel farm. On motion George Gale is foreman of the Elk farm with George H. Klack assistant. On motion Jacob Fischer Sr. Jacob Fischer Jr., Joseph Black, assist John J. Esplin on Lake farm. On motion Joseph Esplin, Seth C. Robertson, and Erastus S. P. Allen labor at Moccasin farm. On motion Isaac Losee and Heber Hogan labor at Mt. Carmel farm. On motion, Simian Allen, Joseph Palmer, Madse Sorrenson, Hans C. Sorenson, D. A. Losee, Enos P. Fackrell, Abinadi Porter, John Esplin, Jesse Billingsley, William W. Adair, Ephraim Crofts, William Baldwin Jr., Heber J. Meeks, Gideon Fackrell, and Miller Black, labor on the farm to be appointed to their places by general foreman H. W. Esplin. Minutes were read and accepted in the

dining hall before all the people. E. M. Webb, Ward Clerk. Coppied by Francis L. Porter, Historian."[35]

Greater economic expansion was shown in Orderville than was usually the case in similar small towns where individual effort predominated. The growth of this settlement from a small rural outpost to a town of diverse industry, owning ranches and cotton farms some distance away is a compelling story.

The farming activities of the Order were necessarily important. A few months after the town was founded, the settlers planted fifteen acres of orchard and garden, and nearly three hundred acres of wheat, oats, barley, corn,cane and beans.[36] The development of the farming department was rapid. Some of the people who later entered the Order placed their farms under the direction of that organization.[37] Then too a number of farms were purchased.[38] These had increased so greatly by 1880 that it was necessary that year to appoint eight foremen to operate the farms which were controlled by the United Order.[39]

The stock, dairy and sheep departments prospered since the nearby region was well adapted for pasturage and the raising of hay. The rapid increase in the number of cattle necessitated the purchase of ranches in House Rock Valley for winter

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35. Ibid., pp. 81-83.
36. "Letter D.B. Fackrell (Secretary United Order), Mount Carmel July 7, 1875 to Editor Deseret News," Deseret News (1875), XXIV, 410.
37. Orderville Ward Historical Record, MS, Book A, no. 1,p.201.
38. Ibid., pp. 200-201.
39. Ibid., pp. 81-83.

ranges.[40] Sheep were first rented on shares, the agreement being made to return them with a certain increase at a definite time.[41] So great was the increase in these animals that it was necessary to purchase ranches to provide food for the sheep.[42]

Another important activity of the United Order was the manufacture of cloth. The sheep provided wool and a cotton farm was secured[43] to produce raw cotton. At first the wool was carded, spun and woven in the houses,[44] but in 1876 the people purchased stock in the Washington Factory and much of the weaving was done there.[45] However this factory was some distance away and looms were purchased, spinning wheels manufactured, and carding machines secured to make home industry possible.[46] By 1883 a woolen factory was constructed and the people entered manufacturing.[47]

These are a few of the economic activities which were practiced by the people in their determination to make this experiment in social unity a success. From 1875 to 1880 this method continued with little interruption, but after 1880 individualism began to reassert itself in the United Order. Discrimination was made between wages paid in various types of labor. Men were allowed to work on shares, the common boarding

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40. Ibid., p. 211.
41. Ibid., p. 213.
42. Ibid., p. 213.
43. Ibid., p. 80.
44. Ibid., p. 215.
45. Ibid., p. 215.
46. Ibid., p. 215.
47. Ibid., pp. 216-217.

plan was eliminated and people began to eat separately. And finally men received "Order Money" with which they could do their own purchasing. In this way the communal experiment rapidly changed to individual enterprise. By 1885 the principal units of the United Order were dissolved although people continued to cooperate in some community enterprise. The spirit of unity still continued, the people of this small friendly town of Orderville showed a little more neighborliness and a little more cooperation than was usually the case in the various settlements of Utah.

The causes for the decline of the United Order of Orderville varied. Because of its early success large numbers of people were permitted to enter the organization. Many of these were not of the same calibre as the earlier members and failed to labor towards the success of the movement. Many actually consumed more than they produced. The following is an example:

"Whereas Henry M. Russel has seen fit to sever his connection with the United Order, and upon settlement it is found he is in debt to the Order the sum of $665.93 and whereas for several months past he has been unfaithful in his labors, loitering and trifling his time away and otherwise breaking his covenants he made when he united with us; Therefore be it resolved that it is right and just in every respect to hold him to a complete payment of the above named indebtedness. Nevertheless as he has a large family to support and his best days are past, Be it further resolved that as an act of charity to his little children that the above indebtedness be cancelled by the entry on the ledger of this resolution."[48]

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48. Ibid., p. 64.

Such forgiveness left a heavy burden to be bourne by those remaining. Many of those who later entered the Order were in debt, increasing the load to be carried by the group.

The leaders of the Church however attributed the decline of the Order to individualism. In 1884 the First Presidency wrote:

> "When you changed your system from that of giving equal labor credit and disbursements to that of giving men credit according to their skill etc. just as is done in Society elsewhere, you opened the door for selfishness and other feelings to enter which such society has to contend with. By this change you exposed yourself to the evils for the correction of which your organization was entered into in the first place."[49]

Those who remained in the Order stated that it failed because the number of inadequately equipped people who later entered were too heavy a burden upon the original group, because of discontent which arose when the communal dining practice was discontinued and because of discrimination in wages paid for labor.

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49. Ibid., p. 240.

CHAPTER VII

THE STRUGGLE FOR SELF-SUFFICIENCY

From the time of their arrival in Great Salt Lake Valley in 1847 to the coming of the railroad to Ogden in 1869, the settlers of Utah attempted to produce the economic necessities which were needed to make them as independent as possible of the rest of the United States. These pioneers sought to develop agriculture and cattle for food; iron and lead for machinery; coal for manufacturing and the heating of houses; cotton, silk, flax and wool for clothing; adobies, lumber and brick for the building of houses; and crockery, glass and other utensils for culinary purposes.

There was a number of causes which impelled these early colonists to seek economic independence. In the first place, far out on the American frontier, they were a great distance from the markets where they could purchase the needed commodities. The Missouri River cities, from which they might have obtained the requisite articles, were eleven hundred miles away and the intervening distance between those points and Utah was a difficult region through which to transport freight because of the danger of the Indians destroying the wagon trains and because of the poor condition of these overland trails. The California ports were seven hundred miles distant, and two mountain chains and menacing Indians made transportation over this highway impracticable and dangerous. Thus because of these barriers the cost of the

necessary commodities in Utah was extremely high. Furthermore money was scarce in the new country. Then too, the distance to market made it impossible for the people to send the raw products needed to exchange for the manufactured articles. Since the encouragement of trade with the east would bring non-Mormon merchants to Utah and produce friction, Brigham Young and his associates were determined to develop self-sufficiency in the territory.

The first step in this program of economic independence was the production of agricultural crops. As water was essential in farming, conservation if it was necessary because of its scarcity. Consequently Brigham Young preached frewuent sermons in the different settlements advising the people to cultivate small strips of land intensively rather than attempt to utilize large tracts. He counseled his people as follows:

> "If people would take a little more pains in preparing ditches, gates, and embankments for economically conducting water where it is most needed it would be a great advantage to them."[1]

It was necessary for the members of every settlement to build dams across the streams and canals to provide water to raise crops. As the people ot Utah did not have capital to finance these irrigation enterprises they had to depend upon cooperative effort. Without cooperation these settlers could not have developed irrigation, they could not have

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1. "Remarks Brigham Young, Great Salt Lake City, June 8, 1856," Journal of Discourses, III, 328.

settled the region. Colonists who lacked this spirit of united effort and who did not possess capital could not possibly have colonized Utah. Apostle George A. Smith describes this process of cooperation as follows:

"To irrigate a tract of land men had to combine to construct the water ditches, and dams; sometimes a hundred are necessary, sometimes fifty may do it, and sometimes four or five hundred are necessary according to the condition and location of the land, and under no circumstances, here, can one man without wealth to hire attend to the irrigation of a tract that in other parts of the country would be considered a moderate sized farm. Under these circumstances a moderate sized farm is all our farmers can attend to; this is the rule."[2]

As the swollen rivers, fed by the spring's melting snows, washed away the dams with a regularity that was disheartening to the builders, the irrigation projects were usually built on the creeks and smaller streams. The husbandmen raised also cattle and sheep for food, for clothing and for labor. The grassy meadows and the green hillsides offered excellent pasturage for their animals.

The labors of the settlers yielded not only sufficient food for their needs but also a surplus. In 1850 the United States Census showed that Utah Territory, with a population of 11,380,[3] produced 107,702 bushels of wheat, 10,000 bushels of oats, 43,968 bushels of corn,[4] 4,805 tons of hay, 83,309 pounds of butter, 30,998 pounds of cheese, and $23,868 of

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2. "George A. Smith, Historical Discourse, Great Salt Lake City, August 22, 1869," Brigham Young Journal, 1869, p.810.
3. Compendium of the Seventh Census, 1850, p. 40.
4. Ibid., p. 171.

garden products,[5] while the people slaughtered $67,935 worth of meat.[6] In 1860 while the population had increased to 40,273;[7] the amount of wheat increased three and one-half times,[8] oats, six times and garden products doubled in value,[9] while butter increased to three and one-half times that of the former decade;[10] cheese, slightly less; animals slaughtered for food increased fourfold.[11] Apparently 1860 was the high point in the period for agricultural production because of the trade with the gold seekers in the period from 1850 to 1860.

It was in regard to manufacturing that Brigham Young exerted greatest determination and energy. To Bishop Hunter in 1855 he wrote: "We should ever take a course that will promote domestic manufactures."[12] Furthermore the missionaries in the European countries were instructed to observe the industries which were needed in Utah[13] and they were requested to send men who had a knowledge of manufacturing to the new territory.[14] Because of the activity of these agents of the church in Europe, England and France were the regions where several manufacturing enterprises were formed and machinery

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5. Ibid., p. 172.
6. Ibid., p. 171.
7. Preliminary Report of the Eighth Census, 1860, p. 131.
8. Ibid., p. 200.
9. Ibid., p. 204.
10. Ibid., p. 204.
11. Ibid., p. 209.
12. Letter Brigham Young, Fillmore, December 23, 1855, to Bishop Edward Hunter, Salt Lake City, MS.
13. B.H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of the Church, Century One, III, 395.
14. Millenial Star, XIII, 277.

purchased to be shipped to Utah to produce the needed articles.

One of the earliest of these companies was the Deseret Manufacturing Company organized to make sugar in Utah. Apostle John Taylor studied the beet sugar industry in Arras, France, and was convinced that sugar could be produced in Deseret. Through his enthusiastic labors, sixty thousand dollars were raised, Philip de la Mare, a convert, being one of the principal subscribers. Machinery was then purchased and shipped overseas and overland to the new territory. The troubles which were endured in transportation were almost insurmountable and when the machinery was brought to Utah in the winter of 1852[15] and ready for operation the company was virtually at the end of its resources. The difficulties first encountered in raising sugar beets, the lack of iron retorts and the financial limitations of the company caused its failure.[16] Syrup, however, was produced. This project was the forerunner of the beet sugar industry which was successful several decades later.

Since the people who came to Utah were heavily laden with other commodities, there was a scarcity of iron in the territory. Explorers were instructed to look for traces of that metal in their journeys. The party which was sent south under Parley P. Pratt ain 1849-1850 found specimens of iron

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15. B.H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of the Church, Century One, III, 399.
16. Ibid., p. 400.

ore near the site of Cedar City and subsequently coal was discovered in that vicinity. With this information at hand, Brigham Young sent a colony in 1850 to found Parowan as an agricultural base for the development of the iron country. In the fall of 1851, the small settlement of Cedar City was founded for the purpose of manufacturing the tools and machinery that were urgently needed by the settlers. The Mormon leader said: "I repeat that iron we must have, and we are right on the threshold of obtaining it."[17]

To accelerate the industry, he sent a company of English, Scotch, and Welsh miners and industrial laborers to Cedar City.[18] These settlers worked at the manufacture of iron during the winter of 1851-1852 though they were discouraged by the lack of sufficient coal and by the fact that the ore was too rich.[19] Nevertheless some products were made and exhibited in Salt Lake City in 1852.[20] In order to facilitate this type of industry the Deseret Iron Company was organized in 1852 in Liverpool.[21] A small blast furnace was purchased in England and transported to Cedar City where it was put into operation on the banks of Coal Creek. In 1853 and 1854 floods and imperfections in the machinery delayed the manufacture of iron and by 1855 the plant appeared to be a

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17. "Address of Brigham Young, Great Salt Lake City, May 27, 1855," Journal of Discourses, II, 282.
18. "Letter George A. Smith, Parowan, November 5, 1851, to Editor of Deseret News," Deseret News, II, 7.
19. Millenial Star, XVII, 2.
20. Ibid., p. 3.
21. Ibid., p. 2.

failure and in 1857 the iron industry was doomed.[22] In its brief operation however there were some indications that machinery could be manufactured in Cedar City. In March 1853 "2500 pounds of good clear iron" were made[23] and in 1855 seventeen hundred pounds of iron were produced in twenty-four hours in the new furnace.[24] During the history of the industry in Cedar City, handirons, plowshares, nails, flatirons and cog wheels were manufactured.[25] The failure of this enterprise was due, according to Mr. Crook, to lack of finance, Indian depredations, floods, the coming of Johnston's Army which brought sufficient iron for a brief period, and the arrival of the Union Pacific in 1869 which conveyed cheap metal to meet the needs of the settlers.[26] But the industry was at an end before the railroad came. The struggle to produce iron was the story of the difficulties of frontier enterprise with lack of capital and lack of equipment properly to smelt the ores.

The settlers were more fortunate in finding and developing coal beds than they were in the iron industry. From the time of their arrival in Salt Lake Valley, the pioneers

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22. J.G. Crook, The Development of Early Industry and Trade in Utah, p. 68.
23. "Letter Henry Lunt, Cedar City, March 7, 1855, to George A. Smith," Deseret News, III, 39.
24. "Letter J.C.L. Smith, Parowan, April 19, 1855, to G.A. Smith," Deseret News, V, 60.
25. J.G. Crook, The Development of Early Industry and Trade in Utah, p. 68.
26. Ibid., pp. 68-69.

looked for coal[27] and in 1854 they discovered a productive vein in northwestern Sanpete County. Here a number of Welsh immigrants founded the town of Wales and worked the mines to supply fuel to the people in the vicinity and to towns as far distant as Salt Lake. In 1858 Mr. Thomas Rhodes, while hunting on the Upper Weber east of Ogden, discovered coal.[28] Mines were soon opened and loads of this fuel were carried by teams to Salt Lake City where it was tested by the smiths and machinists and pronounced to be of good quality.[29] In the fall of 1860 a road was completed to the mines[30] and subsequently coal was freighted steadily to the various settlements. The census of 1870 showed that the amount of coal produced in Utah was 5,800 tons.[31]

Clothing was an imperative need among the early settlers. It was necessary to raise raw materials and develop manufacturing to provide this commodity. In 1861, Brigham Young vigorously advocating home industry, said:

"Produce every article of clothing that we need, and stop this importation that we are now encumbered with. We must produce all we can enjoy. I expect that I shall do so."[32]

More specifically he stated:

"We want you to raise flax and make linen cloth."[33]

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27. Thomas Bullock, Camp Journal No. 2, MS, 1847, pp. 38-39.
28. E. Tullidge, History of Utah, II, 138.
29. Deseret News, (1859), IX, 356.
30. Ibid., X, 237.
31. Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, Industry and Wealth, p. 765.
32. "Brigham Young Sermon, Salt Lake City, April 7, 1861," Deseret News, XI, 97.
33. Ibid., p. 90.

Some flax was grown in the early years of the settlement of Utah by men who had produced it formerly in the Southern States. In 1857 Heber C. Kimball stated that Lorin Farr raised one hundred pounds of flax that would make one hundred and twenty-five yards of cloth.[34] However this type of production did not prosper. The census showed that Utah produced only 550 pounds in 1850, 4,343 in 1860 and by 1870 virtually none.[35] From the comments of President Kimball we judge that the flax in 1860 was used largely for linseed oil and not for cloth.[36]

The silk industry proved likewise a failure. Though the Mormon leader fostered it from the beginning and in 1868 built a large cocoonery and planted twenty-five or thirty acres of mulberry trees and manufactured some silk cloth, this enterprise could not meet the competition of imported silk and the industry failed to reach any significant proportions.

The people were much more successful in the production of cotton and woolen goods, especially the latter. As early as 1849, Brigham Young thought of sending a colony down to the Gila River, on the Mexican border, to raise cotton.[37] This plan did not materialize and the leader, in 1852, turned his attention to the Virgen River region as a field to produce that

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34. Journal of Discourses, VI, 132.
35. Compendium of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, pp. 698-699.
36. Journal of Discourses, VI, 132.
37. Brigham Young, Journal, MS, 1849, May 27, 1849, p. 84.

staple.[38] Prior to 1861, the Indian mission on the Santa Clara and the farm at Washington raised enough cotton to prove that it could be grown on the Virgen. In 1861, encouraged by the success of these experiments and because the Civil War resulted in a cotton shortage, Brigham Young dispatched a large company to found Saint George, and produce the needed cotton. The size of the company and the careful consideration which he gave to it indicated the great importance which the leader attached to the project. These settlers raised 54,400 pounds of the staple[39] and in 1862 one hundred thousand pounds,[40] while the census of 1870 indicated a production of only 8,800 pounds.[41] The figures in the census do not show the growth of the industry during its most flourishing period because Saint George was not settled when the census of 1860 was printed and by the time of the census of 1870, the Civil War was over and the railroad had brought cheaper cotton to Utah. The small valleys of the southern country were not large enough nor was there water to raise cotton in sufficient bulk to compete with the large scale production of the "cotton kingdom."

The excellent facilities for grazing placed the business of producing wool on a more substantial basis than that of cotton. Sheep were raised in all parts of the territory and

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38. "Letter Brigham Young, Salt Lake City, February 28, 1852, to Dr. Bernhisel," Brigham Young Journal, 1852, p. 15.
39. Compendium of the Ninth Census, 1870, p. 699.
40. James G. Bleak, Annals of the Southern Mission, MS, Book A, 1862, p. 168.
41. Compendium of the Ninth Census, 1870, p. 688.

the increase was very rapid. The census showed that 9,222 pounds of wool were produced in 1850, 74,765 in 1860, and 109,018 in 1870.[42]

Brigham Young was interested in the building of factories for the manufacture of clothing. He said:

"And go to and establish woolen factories. Many have supposed because we have one cotton factory and several woolen factories that they will supply the whole Territory; but this is entirely a mistake. There should be factories established in all the principal cities of the Territory for the manufacture of woolen and cotton fabrics, in order to supply the wants of the people."[43]

The leader did more than urge his followers to engage in this industry, he entered the field himself. In 1866 he erected a large cotton and woolen factory in Washington, near Saint George. He was also stockholder in several other woolen plants in the Territory.[44] In the "60's" a number of factories were erected. The Deseret News reported:

"Messrs. Houtz and Bringhurst have got their woolen factory there [Springville] in operation .... They are carding wool and will soon have the machinery in readiness for manufacturing it into cloth in good style."[45]

The Provo Woolen Mills, the outstanding plant, began as the Timpanogas Manufacturing Company in 1869, completing its factory in 1870 at a cost of $155,000.[46] The output of these mills was a fine grade of woolen cloth woven by English

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42. Ibid., pp. 698-699.
43. "Brigham Young, Sermon, Richmond, June 25, 1870," Brigham Young Journal, 1870, p. 108.
44. James G. Bleak, Annals of the Southern Mission, MS, Book A, p. 362.
45. Deseret News, June 20, 1860, X, 125.
46. J.M. Jensen, History of Provo, p. 271.

and Scotch immigrants who had learned their trade in the British Isles.[47] In the early "70's" the Provo factory manufactured $200,000 worth of goods annually.[48] The census indicated that there were in 1860 three wool-carding establishments with an annual production of $19,623;[49] in 1870 the output of the six factories was $133,620 annually.[50]

Lumber and flour were the leading productions in early Utah. The grist mills were the most fundamental. In virtually every settlement one of these was built shortly after the arrival of the colonists and later it was enlarged or replaced. In 1860 there were 10 establishments which manufactured flour worth $264,815,[51] while in 1870 the output of the 74 plants was valued at $782,846.[52] The lumber mills which ranked next in importance were erected during the early years in most of the colonies. The Springville mill which was typical of this industry was described as follows:

"Messrs. Johnson and McDonald have this season erected a new saw, shingle and lath mill on Hobble Creek, fourteen miles above Springville, where there is excellent timber, which is now in full operation. They are manufacturing shingles of the first quality, which they sell at the mill at six dollars a thousand---an article that will of course find a ready market in the towns and settlements in that vicinity where shingles have not been extensively used for roofing because they could not easily be obtained."[53]

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47. Ibid., p. 273.
48. Ibid.
49. Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Manufactures, p. 670.
50. Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, Industry and Wealth, p. 489.
51. Ibid., pp. 598-599.
52. Ibid.
53. Deseret News, June 20, 1860, X, 125.

The desire for better houses was a very important reason for the rapid growth of the lumber industry. The census showed that in 1860 there were 28 sawmills which manufactured $145,505 worth of lumber[54] while in 1870 the output of the 95 plants was valued at $661,431.[55]

The demand for boots, shoes and harness stimulated the leather industry which started in 1850 when Samuel Mulliner made leather from a calf skin.[56] In 1851 he began active manufacturing with the following announcement:

"Samuel Mulliner hereby notifies the citizens of Deseret that he has entered into the Tanning Business, and he solicits the co-operation of all who feel interested in Home Manufacture. He wishes to state that it will be just as requisite for citizens to bring Bark and Sumac, as it is for the Tanners to make the necessary preparations to make leather."[57]

Shortly afterwards he built his vats for the tanning of quantities of leather.[58] In 1852 a tannery was built in Provo.[59] This industry developed very slowly, however. The process of making leather necessitated certain chemicals that were difficult to obtain, and the demand for the commodity required the use of skins before they were properly treated. In 1860 the production of leather goods was $93,255;[60] in 1870 it fell to $91,693.[61] By this later date, great quantities

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54. Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, Industry and Wealth, pp. 612-613.
55. Ibid.
56. J.G. Crook, The Development of Early Industry and Trade in Utah, p. 18.
57. Deseret News, June 14, 1851, I, 379.
58. Ibid., January 10, 1852, II, 19.
59. Ibid., February 21, 1852, II, 32.
60. Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Manufactures, p. 670.
61. Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, Industry and Wealth, p. 449.

were shipped in by railroad and this importation virtually ruined the home industry.[62]

From 1850 to 1870 the settlers attempted seriously to produce some of the necessities required in the local markets. Brigham Young saw the urgent needs of home manufacturing and used the force of his personality and leadership to influence the development of economic self-sufficiency. Under his direction the people produced the food which they consumed and by their colonizing widely separated valleys they added some luxuries to the meager necessities usually found on the frontier. Except for the brief "starving time" when the grasshoppers destroyed the crops, they raised food enough for all and a surplus. Furthermore, they sawed enough lumber to aid them in constructing better houses. They also made considerable progress in the manufacture of woolen goods. Otherwise the experiences of these early pioneers in Utah were similar to those on the other American frontiers, it was a stern hard struggle to produce the barest necessities. The home manufactures soon met the crushing competition from the outside. Thus when by 1870 the railroad came to Utah the "home market broke" before the cheaper and better manufactured goods which the eastern merchants sent overland by rail to the territory. Except in the cruder manufactures such as flour and lumber, 1870 marked the decline of home industry.

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62. J.G. Crook, Development of Early Industry and Trade in Utah, p. 28.

CONCLUSION

In 1847 Brigham Young and the pioneers who followed him to Salt Lake Valley faced the task of founding a commonwealth in the intermountain West with quiet optimism. They accepted the job eagerly because they regarded the arid region before them as a refuge and because they were well prepared through their earlier training for the work ahead of them. In the Middle West they had developed their missionary system which furnished them continually with immigrants, they had perfected a religious organization and a plan of immigration, they had become seasoned colonizers through their experiences in building settlements, they had developed group solidarity by devotion to their cause and through friction with those who did not share their religious views, and they were willing to undergo great hardships to found colonies where they could worship as they pleased. They had produced a leader, Brigham Young, in whom they had confidence because of the religious position he held which made him a "prophet of God" to them, and because of the successful projects which he had directed. To colonize a large region uniformly fertile and humid would have been a difficult task but to settle a vast area with large infertile stretches and a limited supply of water would have been impossible without capital or without the kind of training and the type of leadership which these people possessed.

To provide a city of refuge and to form a parent town

for the colonization of an expansive domain, Brigham Young and his people founded Salt Lake City. This new settlement was started and developed rapidly through the alertness of the leader, the cooperative industry of the colonists, and the good fortune of the new town's being on the overland trail to California. After a wearisome journey of eleven hundred miles, these pioneers in July 1847 plunged into the task of building the "new Zion" in the arid valley on the shores of Great Salt Lake. While Brigham Young and his counselors surveyed the land, the settlers, following their leader's suggestion, built a temporary fort and planted grain for seed and for food for those who should come later. The next year, with almost three thousand people in the valley the colonists began the task of forming their permanent city. Following the plans of their leader they built their town, which with its wide straight streets and houses nestling back in the lots and flanked by trees, shrubbery and flowers, reminded one of Nauvoo. Meanwhile, under the direction of Brigham Young, the colonists cultivated the city plots and farms which had been divided among them. To raise grain they had to have water; to secure this, they worked together to build canals and ditches to bring it to their fields. By the early "50's" this industry was repaid by ample crops and, by carefully husbanding them a surplus was stored away for a time of need. But they were not satisfied in building merely an agricultural outpost on the frontier, the plans of the leader were more ambitious. From the first he encouraged his

people to produce the things which they needed besides food. In the earlier years he used the resources at his command to build several small grist mills and saw mills. Within their houses, the newly arrived immigrants from the British industrial regions made some of the articles needed, but all these efforts supplied only a small part of the demand for goods. In the early "50's", however, the rush of the gold seekers to California brought a lucrative trade which furnished capital to purchase machinery and to build factories. Thus in the early "60's", the dreams of Brigham Young to develop manufacturing to some degree had been realized. But all these stages were to be only steps leading to the culmination of his plans, for in his scheme of things, Salt Lake was to be beautified and it was to be the "Holy City" of the new Mormondom. Thus with the rise of manufacturing, the settlers built better houses and pretentious stores. But the greatest of their earlier structures, the Salt Lake Tabernacle was erected by the joint labors and donations of the people. The thousands of immigrants who came into this city learned there how to adapt themselves to the new environment so that when the need arose they were capable of settling the frontier beyond the city. The rapid and substantial manner in which Salt Lake was founded and developed seemed to forecast the success of the pioneers in colonizing the vast region between the Rockies and the Sierras.

While Brigham Young was directing the building of Salt Lake City he was planning the occupation of the intermountain

region. There were a number of reasons for this. As the Mormons had learned in their previous contacts that they could not live amicably near those not sharing their religious views, ample land was needed for farms for those who were living temporarily in western Iowa and eastern Nebraska and for the thousands of immigrants who were coming annually from Great Britain and the Scandinavian Countries and even from the Pacific Islands. Not only land was necessary but also areas which were suitable climatically for these people to settle. Then too, colonies were needed on the immigrant trail to aid the newcomers in their journey to "Zion." Furthermore a far flung "state" was essential to produce the necessities. Thus Brigham Young planned to colonize an expansive area. The limits were, on the south the Gila River in southern Arizona, on the north the Oregon Territory, on the east the Rockies, and on the west the Sierras, excepting southern California where he proposed to build a port on the Pacific.

The physical features and the Indians did much to influence the process of colonization and to mold the settlements which were founded. As the streams were some distance apart, it was necessary to cross long stretches of dry desert country and to discover passes before the fertile valleys, guarded by towering mountains, could be entered. But the mountains contained coal, iron and lead which could be mined and used for manufacturing, the hill sides were covered with grasses for feeding cattle and sheep and with trees for the production of lumber for the building of houses and for fuel,

and the soils of the valley promised abundant harvests if they were irrigated. The lands in the different latitudes and varying altitudes could be made to produce a variety of food to relieve the monotony of the frontier diet and to raise the raw products, such as cotton and flax, for manufacturing. The Indians, resenting the occupation of their hunting grounds, retarded the advance of the settlers and forced them to live compactly within the walls of forts. But the Indian barriers could be pushed aside. The work of the Mormon missionaries to the red men, the cautious policy of Brigham Young who advocated feeding rather than fighting the natives, were effective agencies in providing for the advance of the settlers and finally, when all other methods failed, the militia drove the Indians from the lands which were needed for colonization.

In the ten years following 1848, Brigham Young directed the founding of pivotal colonies or centers in order that his followers might control and colonize extensive lands. He visited some of the regions looking for favorable sites for his outposts, and he sent explorers to the more distant parts where they examined the most promising valleys looking especially for available water, timber, grass and fertile soils. The result of these explorations was the founding, by 1858, of the centers, Ogden, Brigham City and Wellsville to control the lands one hundred miles north of Salt Lake City, and Provo, Manti, Fillmore and San Bernardino, the last named seven hundred miles away, to hold possession of the south and southwest. Westward on the foothills of the Sierras, Carson was built to

control Nevada.

After the sites were chosen, the settlers methodically founded the centers. Brigham Young selected, as the leaders of companies to settle the frontier, apostles and experienced colonizers so that there would be, in each settlement, a director whose authority would be recognized and whose advice would be followed. With the particular center in mind, Brigham Young chose the colonists who were best prepared to settle that region. Orally or by letter he "called" or requested them to organize to form a settlement in the valley selected. This was done especially in the distant areas where careful direction and industrious pioneers were necessary if the project were to be successful. In the centers closer at hand, he let those willing to do so volunteer to build the settlements. So great was the domination of the President that few refused the call. Then the colonists metat the places designated, to form their companies for the journey. They approved the leaders who had been chosen by Brigham Young, they accepted the subordinate officers nominated by their leaders, they ratified the military organizations which were proposed for the journey, and they listened attentively to the instructions given so that they, by following them, might travel comfortably and safely to the locations where their towns were to be built. Their equipment was inspected to see that they were prepared adequately to colonize. They traveled successfully to the places where they were to settle because they were alert and prepared against Indian attacks and because they united to make the

trails passable for their wagons. Their morale was maintained at a high level by singing while on the march and by sermons delivered around the campfires at night.

When they arrived at their destinations, they met in council to plan their settlements. First they disbanded their organizations used for migrations, and then they chose bishops to be their religious guides and their leaders in forming their towns. Next they discussed and approved of plans for the building of their colonies. While some plowed the land, others made roads up the canyons to reach timber, and still others dug trenches to carry water from the streams to the fields. When the roads to the canyons were completed the pioneers felled logs and hauled them to the sites to build their fort walls, their houses, and their churches. Thus by cooperative labor the people lived the first few years. But as the centers increased in population and the Indians seemed more friendly they built towns to replace the early forts. When expansion was necessary Brigham Young and his party visited these centers, he selected sites for permanent cities, choosing locations suitable for sanitation and for safety, and the surveyor, in his party, plotted the town sites. The lots were divided among the settlers, new houses were built or the old ones were moved from the forts and improved. Newly erected sawmills furnished supplies of lumber. Because of the religious life of the pioneers, and ccoperation essential for irrigation these towns were built compactly. Their most outstanding buildings, their churches, which were also used as

schoolhouses, were built by cooperative labor. Many quarried stone in the nearby mountains or made bricks, others cut down trees and hauled them by team to the saw mills where they were manufactured into lumber, and the masons and carpenters built the meeting houses. By 1858, excepting Wellsville which was founded that year, these centers were growing, flourishing towns. After these early tasks were completed the people were ready to colonize the regions around the outposts. In 1858 it appeared that Brigham Young and his followers had overcome the natural barriers and had built permanently the corner-stones of their Zion.

Events were happening, however, which were to change the plans of the leader. President Buchanan appointed a new territorial governor, in 1857, to succeed Brigham Young, and dispatched Albert Sidney Johnston and an army to install the new officer and to see that his authority was obeyed. The people feared that the soldiers were sent to drive them from Utah. Consequently the colonies in California and Nevada were abandoned and the centers north of Salt Lake City were deserted temporarily. Fortunately peace was restored in 1858. But the California colony was permanently lost and the resettlement of Carson was undesirable as gold was discovered there and the region was filled with California miners. In 1859 Brigham Young directed the occupation of the deserted centers and prepared for the forming of new ones in southwestern Utah and in Arizona. Believing that the consummation of his plans to colonize the area south in Arizona rested upon

the successful establishment of a center in southwestern Utah, and needing the cotton which could be grown there, Brigham Young sent a large company, under the leadership of two apostles who were veteran colonizers, to found Saint George in 1861. In 1877 he dispatched colonists to the Little Colorado River, in east central Arizona, where they built forts as outposts to hold Arizona for Mormon occupation. By 1877 the limits set in the colonial plans of Brigham Young had been reached, the centers of his "Kingdom" had been established. What appeared so difficult and vague in 1847 had become a reality in 1877.

The colonization of the country between and beyond the centers followed the establishment of these outposts. The rich lands near Salt Lake City were occupied soon after the founding of that settlement by groups of people who desired better farms and ranges than were then available in the valley. Shortly after the centers of Brigham City and Provo had been formed small groups of people cultivated the fertile lands on the banks of the streams between these two outposts. By 1861 there was a rush of settlers to the well watered Cache Valley and to Beaver near Parowan when grazing lands were abundant. The occupation of the more distant valleys and the less fertile areas required other methods. The tiresome journeys to these places and the danger of Indian attacks made necessary completely organized companies to build colonies in these locations. Thus Brigham Young directed this task in similar fashion to his methods of founding the centers. A large

number of towns were built in this manner. Furthermore the leaders of the centers sent explorers out to seek desirable valleys in their neighborhoods, they personally visited the unoccupied lands looking for sites for towns, and they organized companies and sent them out to build settlements in the various valleys. By 1877, when the power of the Indians had been broken, many of the streams from southern Idaho to the Gila River in southern Arizona had settlements on their banks. It has been necessary, in this thesis, to include a great deal of detail to show the magnitude of this colonial expansion. When Brigham Young visited these towns he not only gave them needed instructions but completely organized them to bring unity in the whole colonial movement. He formed the settlements into wards and appointed a bishop for each, to direct the religious and economic affairs. Then he organized a group of these wards into a stake and selected a president to direct the affairs of each such district. Brigham Young placed the responsibility for the success of the wards upon the bishops and he held every president accountable for the affairs of the settlements within his jurisdiction and for the colonization of the unoccupied lands in his district.

One town, Orderville, was founded in a different manner from the others. In 1874 Brigham Young proposed the United Order to his people. By it members of each community were to form a corporation to produce all that was needed in that town. Each member was invited to give his farm, house, and other forms of wealth to the Order, and to pledge his

labor. In return he was to receive food and lodging and eventually probably the wealth which was to accrue. In general the movement failed. The society which built Orderville was organized in Mount Carmel, in southern Utah in 1874, and was composed of people well disciplined in cooperative living by their united labors in colonizing southeastern Nevada. The charter of this group was based on the principles enumerated above and the experiment was to last twenty-five years at the close of which time everything was to be divided among the members. Many people placed their property at the disposal of the Order and all agreed to labor. In 1875 this group built Order City, erecting lodging quarters and a communal dining hall. From 1875 to 1880, through the joint efforts of this society, these people provided the necessities, purchased herds of cattle, flocks of sheep and factories and acquired many farms and ranches. In a few years this group first settling on a small site expanded their resources immensely.

From the beginning Brigham Young stressed the development of economic self-sufficiency. His followers had little capital to purchase necessities. If non-Mormons came to Utah to produce the needed commodities friction would likely take place. The people built canals and dams for the irrigation of their crops since without water colonies could not be planted. They raised raw materials and built factories. Grist and saw mills, cotton and woolen establishments were erected for manufacturing and proved successful but the attempts to develop

other industries extensively resulted in failure. The coming of the railroad in 1869 brought cheaper goods and carried the surplus crops and cattle to the markets thereby causing a partial failure of the struggle for economic self-sufficiency.

When Brigham died in 1877 the fundamental past of his plan had been realized. Companies had gone forth and had taken possession of a vast domain by building settlements at strategic places. The region in between had been colonized. Because of their religious organization all of the settlements were under the constant supervision of Brigham Young. By their joint labors in building roads, canals and churches these people had achieved their task of founding colonies in an arid country where individual effort alone would have made such settlement impossible. They produced a creditable amount of manufactured products when the difficulties encountered are considered. These people, devoted to their cause were determined to found cities and towns where they could worship as they pleased, and because they accepted their leader as a prophet of God they worked more eagerly and obeyed their President more readily than settlers without such incentives usually have done. The comment of one of these veteran colonizers indicates the spirit of these pioneers. He said that he had been sent to Saint George by a leader whom he respected and as that leader died without releasing him from his mission, he would remain at his post until his boys carried him to the hillside yonder. When Brigham Young passed he was enshrined in the hearts of his followers.

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Forms and Methods of Early Mormon Settlement in Utah and Surrounding Region, 1847 to 1877

Abstract of a Dissertation
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty
In Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Department of History

By
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It is the purpose of this study to present the settlement of the intermountain valleys of the Far West by the Mormon people led by Brigham Young in the years from 1847 to 1877. The colonization was similar, in some respects, to the group settlements of colonial New England and the later Middle West but quite unlike the American colonization of California and Oregon which was almost simultaneous with the founding of Utah towns. To explain the occupation of the intermountain country it is necessary to point out briefly the Mormon institutions and practices in the Middle West which were essential in the colonization of the Far West, and then to discuss, in more detailed fashion, the nature of the country, the external influences, the plan of colonization and the methods and forms used in its consummation.

The chief sources used in this study are in the Library of the Historian of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in Salt Lake City. The collection includes daily journals written by the clerks of the companies which founded the settlements; journals, letter-books, and many original letters

of Brigham Young and other leaders of the Mormon movement; complete files of the Deseret News, the official Mormon newspaper, containing letters written by settlers describing the forming and development of towns; and files of the Millenial Star, the Mormon missionary periodical published in England, in which were printed letters from Utah pioneers describing the founding of colonies. Religious records of districts such as wards and stakes are filed in the Historian's Office. They reveal much information on settlement. Travelers' accounts provide excellent descriptions of colonization to parallel the narratives of the pioneers. The writer has also visited a number of Utah towns and has examined their records and has talked with many pioneers to obtain the necessary explanation of the manuscripts.

During the years from 1830 to 1847 the Mormons in the Middle West underwent a process of preparation for the successful colonization of the Far West. They built towns and cities through cooperative effort, they formed religious and immigration organizations which they used in colonization at a later date, their conflicts with their neighbors and their devotion to their cause produced a group solidarity and made them willing to undergo great hardships, in order, in a new country, to build colonies where they might worship as they pleased. They accepted their leader, Brigham Young, as a prophet of God and the successful projects which he led in the Middle West increased the confidence which his religious

position inspired. By 1846 these people were seasoned pioneers who had learned to do things under leadership.

After a weary flight from Nauvoo, Illinois, Salt Lake valley afforded a refuge for them. There, adapting their previous experiences to a new environment, they built their first outpost. Again it was a cooperative task, directed by Brigham Young. They united to make irrigation ditches to carry water to their fields, they planted crops and built their fort. Good fortune aided them. The discovery of gold in California brought a rush of gold seekers into the valley and the Mormons gained huge profits through trading food and animals to the argonauts. This gave them the wealth to transform their outpost, in the early "60's" into a city of pretentious stores, small factories and substantial residences. During this time they labored unitedly to erect their Social Hall, their Salt Lake Theatre, their churches and the Tabernacle to make Salt Lake their recreational and religious center.

While Brigham Young was directing the building of Salt Lake City he was planning the formation of colonies elsewhere in the intermountain country. The continued influx of immigrants after 1847 from climatically different sections and countries, and the necessity for economic self sufficiency required the occupation of a vast domain since the fertile areas with sufficient available water were distant from each other. In 1849, when Brigham Young and his followers petitioned

Congress for statehood, the boundaries of the proposed "State of Deseret" were, on the north the Oregon Territory, on the south the Gila River in southern Arizona, on the east the Rockies, and on the west the Sierra Nevadas except in southern California where Brigham Young planned to build a port on the Pacific.

The physical character of the country and the Indians influenced the processes of colonization and, to some degree, determined the form of the settlements. Though the long stretches of dry lands and the towering mountains retarded the advance of the settlers, the valleys, traversed by streams, the timbered mountains and grassy slopes invited settlement. Although the Indians, resenting the coming of men with plows, delayed the migrations of the colonists, the peaceful policy of Brigham Young, the labors of the missionaries and the advance of the militia cleared the way for well organized companies of pioneers. But the Indians, on the warpath, forced the settlers to live within the walls of their forts thus adding compactness to the settlements.

After the region had been carefully explored and its resources known, Brigham Young sent companies of settlers to build outposts at places strategically located to hold possession of the large area. By 1858 these centers extended from Wellsville almost one hundred miles north of Salt Lake City to San Bernardino, in the California passes, almost seven hundred miles away. The companies which founded these outposts were

systematically organized to plant the settlements. Outstanding officials of the church were appointed by Brigham Young and ratified by the settlers to lead the companies to found the centers. Each group was composed of selected men "called" by Brigham Young because of their fitness to build the outpost. The companies met, each at the appointed rendezvous, and organized in military fashion to travel safely to the prospective centers. The methods used in building the towns were similar to those used in founding Salt Lake City. The companies pitched camps on the sites selected, met in council, disbanded their military organizations, chose their leaders to direct them in building their towns, and discussed plans for their prospective settlements. Then some plowed the lands for sowing, others dug trenches to carry water to their fields and still others made roads to the canyons to secure timber. They built their houses, log churches and fort walls. Later, as the population of these outposts increased, Brigham Young and his party visited these centers, selected and surveyed the townsites. The lots were divided, new houses were built, and saw mills and grist mills were constructed. Because of the religious life of the pioneers, and cooperation essential for irrigation, these towns were built compactly. Through donations and cooperative labor the most outstanding buildings, the churches, also used as schoolhouses, were erected. It appeared by 1888 that Brigham Young and his followers had overcome the barriers and had built permanently the cornerstone

of their "Kingdom of Heaven." That year, however, President Buchanan sent an army to Utah to install a new governor, and the settlers, fearing war abandoned their California and Nevada outposts to concentrate their forces for protection. When the danger of war passed southern California and Nevada were lost and two centers, St. George in 1861 and the Little Colorado Colonies in 1877, were founded to expand into Arizona.

The country around the centers was settled by various methods. Near Salt Lake the more fertile lands were quickly occupied by people desiring better farms and cattle ranges than were available in the valley. By 1861 Cache Valley to the north and Beaver to the south, with their streams and abundant ranges, were occupied by the rush of settlers suggestive of other American frontiers. The distant valleys, with their ever-present Indians, required organized companies to settle them. Using the same methods as in the centers, Brigham Young sent companies to found towns in these places. Furthermore the leaders of the centers dispatched groups to found colonies in their districts. One settlement, Orderville was founded by a cooperative society, the United Order of Mount Carmel, whose members, pooled their labors and their property to settle an unpromising valley. The phenomenal success of this experiment indicated what could be accomplished when the welfare of the individual was subordinated to that of the group. Brigham Young visited the settlements, organized them into religious districts, each small town into a ward, a group of

towns into a stake. Bishops were chosen to direct the religious and economic affairs of the wards, Presidents were selected for the same purposes for the stakes. These officials were held responsible by Brigham Young for the success of their colonies. By 1877, when the power of the Indians had been broken, towns dotted the banks of the principal streams from southern Idaho to southern Arizona.

The settlements were planted to develop economic self sufficiency. Although the bases of all the colonies were agricultural and pastoral, some of them were founded also to mine coal, others to mine lead and iron ore and others to raise cotton and indigo. Grist and saw mills were built near almost all the settlements, and in addition to a cotton factory, several small woolen factories were erected. Attempts to engage in extensive industry failed in spite of the efforts of the colonists, since they lacked capital and raw materials, and because the coming of the railroad in 1869 brought cheaper goods and carried the crops and cattle out to market thus demoralizing home industry.

When Brigham Young died in 1877 the fundamentals of his plan had been realized. Thriving centers had been established in strategic places and the country between had been partially settled. By joint labor the people had perfected irrigation systems and developed essential manufacturing. By virtue of their religious organization all the settlements were under the constant supervision of the head of the church. Their task,

considering the physical difficulties to be overcome and the vast space to be occupied appeared insurmountable and in consequence the results were astonishing. The settlement of the intermountain region by the Mormon people stands forth as a remarkable achievement of directed colonization.